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"THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS and THE WRITINGS OF ST. PAUL"

A Thesis for the degree of Master of Theology at the University
of Glasgow, submitted by,

SAMUEL MURDOCH McNAUGHT

October, 1969

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is submitted after work was pursued as a Research Student in Trinity College, Glasgow University under the supervision of Professor William Barclay. It has been composed by myself and has not been accepted, in part or whole, in fulfilment of the requirements of any other degree or professional qualification.

Signed: *Samuel Murdoch McNaught*

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SYNOPSIS OF THESIS

This thesis postulates some kind of contact, direct or otherwise, between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pauline Epistles. On examination of these two sets of documents certain similarities of thought and expression were noted. These similarities are noted in detail, and given extensive examination and comment. Differences, too, are noted and examined. After an Introduction, the thesis is divided into seven chapters as follows:-

Chapter One

An examination of the nature of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls and an examination of their contents. Attention is paid to the authorship and ownership of the scrolls and the reasons for their being put in the caves. The link with the ruins at Qumran is examined, and the identity of the former inhabitants. They are found to be the ancient sect of the Essenes, who lived at Qumran, and who hid their library, possibly at the approach of the Roman forces around the year 68 A.D.

Chapter Two

An extensive treatment of the Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pauline Epistles. The subjects of Predestination and Justification are regarded as the most important for this study. Texts are listed and a common background in Judaism found.

Chapter Three

The Eschatology of the Scrolls and the Epistles is dealt with here. This is subdivided under three headings:- The Resurrection, the Messiah and the Final Battle. Texts are again examined and scholarly opinion assessed. A common background is found in Old Testament, Apocryphal and Intertestamental literature. No direct contact, but sharing of a common heritage of ideas.

Chapter Four/

Chapter Four

The Sacramental aspects of the two sets of texts are looked at in this chapter. Again the chapter is sub-divided into two headings:- The Sacramental Meal and Baptism.

Here there is found to be a very close affinity of thought and texts are given to support this theory.

Chapter Five

The Ethics of the Scrolls and the Epistles are dealt with in this chapter. There is a short Appendix dealing with certain lists of virtues and vices in both sets of documents.

In this subject there are many instances of close verbal similarity and expression of thought. These similarities are often quite strong. But at the last there is only a common background in sectarian Judaism to postulate as an indirect link.

Chapter Six

This is a very short chapter dealing with the hypothesis that during his three years in Arabia, Paul came into contact with the Essenes at either Qumran itself or in the city of Damascus. No definite conclusion is arrived at, although the balance is weighed on the side of some personal contact between the two parties at some place and time.

Chapter Seven

This concluding chapter is divided into four parts:- a review of studies on the Scrolls and the relative importance of the Scrolls in Biblical studies; a similar treatment of Pauline studies and the relative importance of Paul in Christian thought; a review of the conclusions of each chapter of this thesis; and a final conclusion.

Note that most quotations from the Scrolls are from the translation by Dr. Geza Vermes (1) and the Biblical quotations from the Revised Standard Version of the Bible.

.....

(1) "The Dead Sea Scrolls in English" Penguin Books 1962

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank Professor William Barclay and the staff of the New Testament Language and Literature department of Glasgow University for their advice and encouragement during my period as a research student with them. Also, Rev. Dr. Stewart Mechie, Librarian of Trinity College and the staff of Glasgow University Library for unfailing cheerfulness and helpfulness when faced with requests for esoteric books and journals; Rev. James Thomson, B.D., M.Th., minister at Penilee, for advice in presentation of the material; and to Mrs. H. Gill, Cairnryan and Miss M. McKnight, Glasgow, for typing this thesis in its many parts and in toto.

PREFACE

Since their discovery from 1947 onwards, the corpus of ancient religious manuscripts, known collectively as "The Dead Sea Scrolls", has been studied from many different angles. Since school-days these documents had captured my interest, not to mention my imagination, and I resolved to make a closer study of them at some future period. It was not until my final year as a divinity student that the particular aspect of the Scrolls requiring more detailed research was brought to my notice. Professor William Barclay, while lecturing on general Scrolls topics, pointing out their connections with the New Testament, especially the Johannine literature, mentioned that it might prove a fruitful source of research to study the Scrolls in relation to the writings of St. Paul. This seemed to me to be the approach to satisfy my interest both in the Scrolls and in Paul. Thus I embarked on this study with a view to a Master of Theology degree.

The thesis looks at the many similarities, or at least, apparent similarities, in thought and word between the Scrolls and the works of Paul. It does not set out to prove that Paul made any direct, large-scale borrowings from the Scrolls. More emphasis is placed upon the similarity of background between the two sets of documents. However some attention is paid to the possibility of a more definite link between them. In some instances it does seem as if Paul knew the contents of certain scrolls, and the implications behind these instances are followed to their logical conclusion.

It is my belief that this thesis will go some way in closing a gap which has hitherto existed in Scrolls studies. In Pauline studies, also, I believe it will serve to illuminate the essential Jewishness of Paul. This seems to me to be a valuable key to the full understanding of Paul, and a balance to those scholars/

scholars who would place more importance on his Hellenic background. Again, as the Scrolls largely belong to the Intertestamental period, this thesis may help to bring into focus the currents of thought circulating in the Jewish world before and during the time of Christ.

INTRODUCTION

"The Discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls"

The Discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls

The history of the discovery of the manuscripts known as "The Dead Sea Scrolls" is something of a tangled web of confusion, inconsistency and intrigue almost impossible to unravel. Many accounts have been published, ranging from the very scholarly scientific to the crudest forms of sensational journalism. It would appear that there are almost as many versions of the story of the discovery of the scrolls as there are scrolls themselves. In the last analysis it may not matter how, when and where they were discovered. The important fact, which must never be lost sight of, is that they have been discovered. Nevertheless a word of caution may not go amiss at this point.

It is a widely held scholarly view that there are still valuable caches of scrolls in the Dead Sea region as yet undiscovered. Or it may be (and this suggestion has more than a chance of being correct) the local Bedouin and Arab tribesmen have discovered such caches, removed them from their locus, and are patiently waiting until the time is ripe to command the highest prices for them. Only time will prove or disprove this theory. But it is worth noting that the experts are making such predictions, not out of a magic hat, but as the result of their experiences at the time of the first discoveries.

Certain "key" questions may be asked, which may help to make some sensible picture from the mass of conflicting detail. They are as follows:-

1. Who made the first discoveries?
2. When were these discoveries made?
3. Where were they made?
4. What was found?
5. How did the discovery come to the notice of the world?

If/

If some reasonable answers can be given to these five questions, then some pattern may become discernible.

Question One. Who made the first discoveries?

The general accepted story is that the discovery of what was later to be called "Cave One" was made by a lad Muhammed Adh-Dhib, a member of the nomadic semi-Bedouin Ta'amireh tribe who range between Bethlehem and the Dead Sea. Of this fact there seems little doubt. No less than ten prominent scrolls scholars are agreed on this point of the boy discovering the first cave. They are:-

J. Allegro, J. Danielou, E. Wilson, R.K. Harrison, F.F. Bruce, J.T. Milik, M. Burrows, A. Dupont-Sommer, E. Sutcliffe and G.R. Driver. Most of them accept without question the account of the discovery given by G.L. Harding, at that time Director of the Jordanian Department of Antiquities, in the newspaper "The Times" dated August 9th, 1949. It is worthwhile quoting part of his account of how the boy came to find the cave:-

"One of the goats strayed in search for better pastures, and the goatherd, looking for it up the steep rock hillside, chanced upon a small circular opening in the rock face. With pardonable curiosity he looked in cautiously, but could only make out a large dark cavern; so he picked up a stone and threw it in - and heard something crack and break. Nervously apprehensive at the unexpected result of his effort he withdrew, and returned later with a friend. Each made brave by the presence of the other, they wriggled through the small aperture into the cavern, and in the dim light could distinguish some large jars standing on the floor, one of them broken by the recently thrown stone. Fragments of others were lying all around, but they proceeded quickly to examine the contents of the intact jars.

Instead/

Instead, however, of the expected golden treasure they drew forth a number of leather rolls covered in, to them, an unknown writing - had they but known it, a treasure far greater than any gold."

That is the most widely held theory, and there seems no reason to doubt that a man of Harding's calibre would deliberately invent such a tale. There are, however, some variations, to the story. Millar Burrows quotes several:-

"According to one form of the story, Muhammed Adh-Dhib was herding goats or looking for a lost sheep when he found the caves; according to another, he and one or two companions were taking goods, perhaps smuggled across the Jordan, to Bethlehem. One story has it that a runaway goat jumped into the cave, Muhammed Adh-Dhib threw a stone after it, and the sound of breaking pottery aroused his curiosity, whereupon he called another lad, and the two crawled into the cave and so found the manuscripts." (1)

These variations may well be true, but equally well they may be fabrications composed long after the events had taken place.

The evidence seems to point to this Bedouin youth as the discoverer of the first cave. It may sound too good to be true, and too much like a fairy tale. But it is not the practice of a Director of Antiquities to compose fairy tales, or such a reputable newspaper to publish them. Whatever the boy was doing in that region; whatever set of circumstances form the background to his act, it must be concluded that to him belongs the honour of making the initial discovery of the Caves which were to yield up such precious contents.

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(1) "The Dead Sea Scrolls", p.4.

Question Two. When were these discoveries made?

Again, there is almost unanimous agreement among scholars. The majority of them conclude that the discovery of Cave One took place in the spring of 1947. F.F. Bruce, J.T. Milik, G.R. Driver, A. Dupont-Sommer, M. Burrows and E. Wilson all state that the discovery was made in "spring 1947". J. Allegro prefers to talk about "the summer of 1947", (2); R.K. Harrison speaks of "early 1947", (3), while J. Danielou merely dates it as happening "in 1947", (4), with no period specified. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that it was some time in the early months of 1947 that the first discoveries were made. From that date various parties, authorised and unauthorised, began to comb the area for more caves, in the hope that they would prove as rich in scroll material as Cave One.

Question Three. Where were they made?

Most scholars merely mention in passing that Cave One is situated in the north-west corner of the Dead Sea, near to the ruined monastery in the Wadi Qumran. However, Millar Burrows gives a more exact description of its location:-

"The cave is in a cliff about five miles south of the place where we went swimming at the north-west corner of the Dead Sea, and about a mile and a quarter back from the shore, in the foothills, of the Judean plateau. It is within a mile of an old ruin named Khirbet Qumran. The/

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- (1) "The Dead Sea Scrolls", p.4.
- (2) "The Dead Sea Scrolls", p.13.
- (3) "The Dead Sea Scrolls", p.2.
- (4) "The Dead Sea Scrolls and primitive Christianity", p.13.

The name Qumran, as pronounced by the Bedouins, sounds a little like Gommorah, and some of the early European explorers of Palestine thought that Khirbet Qumran might be the site of that ill-fated city. That is quite impossible. Gommorah was not in this vicinity at all. Another association with the Old Testament is more pertinent. The track from the Jordan Valley to Bethlehem passes near this spot. When Elimelech and his family went from Bethlehem to Moab, and when Naomi and Ruth went back to Bethlehem, they must have followed approximately this same route." (5)

The above paragraph is worth quoting in full, since it serves to show the association of the region with the history of the Old Testament period, and also because it detracts from the theory that Qumran was in the middle of nowhere, away from the main stream of life. On the contrary, many widely differing influences must have affected its growth and development.

A. Dupont-Sommer puts the position of Qumran in a wider context:-

"The traveller flying from Beirut to Jerusalem passes over the ravines of the plateau of Transjordan from east to west before emerging into the valley of the Jordan; and there a most lovely view meets his eyes. To his right, towards the north, the silver Jordan winds among the shrub; before him, to the west, rise the arid escarpments and the grey tawny dunes of the desert of Judah over which he will presently cross; beneath him lies Jericho in its green oasis; and to his left, towards the south, the blue sunlit waters of the Dead Sea, bounded on either side by steep purple mountains, magnificent and wild, stretch as far as the eye can reach. The/

.....

The upper extremity of the lake forms a sort of semicircle, to the majestic promontory of Ras Feshka. He sees the high cliff about seven miles long, which running from north to south in its approach to the lake, ends just there. At the foot of this cliff is a patch of greenness brightening the countryside, the spring called Ain Feshka, and quite near, to the north, on a marl terrace contiguous to the cliff and slightly dominating the coastal plain, the ruins known as Khirbet Qumran." (6).

These quotations may give the impression that Qumran was situated in a very favourable, salubrious spot. It may be salutary to remember the famous description of the Dead Sea region given by Sir George Adam Smith:-

"Surely there is no region of earth where Nature and History have more cruelly conspired, where so tragic a drama has obtained so awful a theatre. The effect of some historical catastrophes has been heightened by their occurrence amid scenes of beauty and peace. It is otherwise here. Nature, when she has not herself been, by some convulsion, the executioner of judgement, has added every aggravation of horror to the cruelty of the human avenger or the exhaustion of the doomed. The history of the Dead Sea opens with Sodom and Gomorrah, and may be said to close with the Massacre of Masada." (7).

Further on he describes the western shore, where the caves and Qumran are situated:-

"Behind these terraces of marl the mountains rise precipitous and barren on either coast. To the east the long range of Moab, at a height of 2500 to 3000 feet above the shore, seems broken only by the valley of the Arnon. The tawny limestone cliffs, capped with softer chalk, and streaked with marl, but blotted by outcrops of basalt or black limestone, stand near enough the coast to be reflected in the still water, and at sunset, losing their blots, glow one uniform amethyst above the blue. In/

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(6) "The Essene Writings from Qumran", p.1.

(7) "The Historical Geography of the Holy Land", Fontana edition, p.320.

In all Judea there is no view like this, as you see it across the wilderness from the Mount of Olives. On the west coast the hills touch the water at two points, but elsewhere leave between them and the sea the shore already described, sometimes a hundred yards broad, sometimes a mile and a half. From behind the highest terrace of marl the hills rise precipitously in cliffs from 2000 to 2500 feet. No such valley cuts them as the Arnon cuts the opposite range, but every three or four miles they are pierced by a narrow gorge, which continues in a broad gully through the marl terraces to the sea. These gorges are barren, save in their rocky beds, the only passages up them, where a few trees live on the water that trickles out of sight beneath the grey shingle. Otherwise, except at En-gedi, the west range is bare, unbroken, menacing; and there are few places in the world where the sun beats with so fierce a heat. Beyond this rocky barrier stretches Jeshimon, or Devastation, the wilderness of Judea which we have already traversed." (8)

This is the setting in which the discoveries were made.

Question Four. What was found?

Cave one yielded a host of interesting documents. Some were found to be books of the Old Testament, and others were scrolls of a sectarian nature. Miller Burrows describes the first finds thus:-

"Six distinct compositions are represented by the eleven scrolls, or parts of scrolls, first discovered and removed from the cave by the Bedouins in 1947. These are: (1) The Old Testament book of the prophet Isaiah, contained in its entirety in the largest and oldest of the scrolls, and also in part in one of those acquired by the Hebrew University; (2) the/

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the Commentary on Habakkuk; (3) the Manual of Discipline, which had come apart, so that when discovered it was in two separate scrolls; (4) the Aramaic manuscript, now tentatively called the Lamech Scroll, which has not been unrolled; (5) the War of the Sons of Light with the Sons of Darkness; and (6) the Thanksgiving Psalms contained in four of the pieces bought by Professor Sukenik. Many fragments of other books were found later when the cave and other caves in the vicinity were explored. Others were bought from Bedouins who had found them. No text discovered since 1947, however, is comparable in extent to the first scrolls found then by the Bedouins." (9)

Since 1947 the work of systematic exploration and excavation of other caves in the district has gone on and the number of scrolls and fragments is now legion. They can be roughly classified into three types:-

1. Biblical works. Texts of every Old Testament canonical book are to be found, with the exception of the Book of Esther. Many of them are available in several distinct manuscripts, e.g. the Book of Deuteronomy is found in fourteen different versions.
2. Apocryphal, Pseudepigraphical and Apocalyptic works . These include:- The Book of Jubilees, an Aramaic "Testament of Levi", Book of Noah, an Aramaic "Vision of the New Jerusalem", Ecclesiasticus, Book of Tobit, a possible "Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs", Book of Enoch, Epistle of Jeremy, Targum on Job and other smaller fragments and juridical works.
- 3./

.....

(9) Op.cit., p.19.

3. Sectarian Works These comprise:- The Manual of Discipline or the Community Rule (1QS), the Damascus Rule or the Zadokite Document (ZD), the Messianic Rule (1QSa), The War Rule, the Thanksgiving Hymns (1QH); various books of liturgical fragments - the Words of the Heavenly Lights, a Liturgical Prayer, the Blessings, the Triumph of Righteousness, the Angelic Liturgy; books of Biblical interpretation - the Genesis Apocryphon, the Blessings of Jacob, the Words of Moses, Commentaries on Isaiah, the Prayer of Nabonidus, Commentary on Hosea, Commentary on Micah, Commentary on Nahum, Commentary on Habakkuk, Commentaries on Psalm 37, a Midrash on the Last Days, a Messianic Anthology, a Commentary on Biblical Laws. There is also the scroll known as "The Copper Scroll", since it consisted of writing engraved on a roll of sheet copper. It is thought to be an inventory of various precious vessels and objects hidden in the Dead Sea region.

Question Five How did the discovery come to the notice of the world? This is where the greatest confusion lies. It is almost impossible to single out any one story as the authentic one. Here there is a certain amount of interdependence with Questions One and Two. It has been concluded that the first discovery was made by Muhammed Adh-Dhib in the spring of 1947. This was the story accepted by the academic world, and which G.L. Harding gave to "The Times", some ten years after the event Muhammed seems to have had second thoughts about the whole business. In the "Journal of Near Eastern Studies" for October 1957, there appeared an account given by Muhammed himself to Mr. N.S. Koury of Bethlehem.

According to this account, it was in 1945 that Muhammed had found the scrolls in the cave and had taken some home to use as sandal leather. Two years later an uncle of his had taken it to an antiquities dealer in Bethlehem, thinking that it might prove valuable. From this point the story becomes very tangled. The Bethlehem dealer took it to the Syrian Orthodox Monastery of St. Mark in Jerusalem, and the Archbishop, Athanasius Yeshue Samuel, recognised it as an old Hebrew Manuscript. He in turn consulted Professor J. Van der Ploeg of the Ecole Biblique, who judged it to be a manuscript of Isaiah.

The/

The Syrian now turned to his Jewish brethern in Jerusalem at the Hebrew University. Professor E.L. Sukenik, at the same time hearing of scroll finds in the desert, managed to purchase some fragments from an Arab dealer of antiquities in Bethlehem. These, plus the scroll from the Syrians led him to believe that a hitherto unknown cache of ancient manuscripts had come to light. He thought that they could possibly be part of a Jewish 'genizah', the storeplace where outworn synagogue documents were deposited.

The Syrians then turned their attention to the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. Mr. John C. Trevor agreed to examine some old manuscripts which, the Syrians lied, they had discovered while cataloguing their library. Trevor did not manage at that time to photograph them, but copied extracts from them. At a later date he was given permission to photograph them. He at once sent prints of the scrolls to Professor W.F. Albright, of John Hopkins University, Baltimore, a leading Biblical archaeologist. Albright was the first to realise the magnitude of the find. He dated the Isaiah manuscript at around 100 B.C. Before the finds were made, the earliest manuscripts of the Old Testament dated to the 2nd century A.D. Early in 1949, Archbishop Samuel visited the United States and allowed the American School of Oriental Research to photograph the scrolls and to publish them over a period of three years. In this way were their contents made known to the world.

As far as is humanly possible, the above is the barest and most accurate outline of how the discovery was made known. There are many more accounts available, differing in detail, but all in basic agreement as to the progression from Bedouin to Bethlehem dealer to the Syrian Monastery to the Hebrew University and the American School of Oriental Research. It is a story full of fascination and intrigue. John Allegro in his book "The Dead Sea Scrolls" gives perhaps the most readable and racy (though not necessarily the most accurate) account of the discovery and purchase of the scrolls (10). Other/

Other interesting, but substantially similar accounts are given by Edmund Wilson in his "The Scrolls from the Dead Sea" (11), and R.K. Harrison in "The Dead Sea Scrolls" (12). More "academic" accounts are available in Millar Burrow's "The Dead Sea Scrolls" (13), F.F. Bruce in "Second Thoughts on the Dead Sea Scrolls" (14), and J.T. Milik in "Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea" (15)

However confusing and inconsistent the accounts may appear to be, at least all are agreed that it was a timely move by the Americans to ensure that the contents of the scrolls were made available, as soon as possible, to the world. If this had not been done speedily, then much might have been lost in games of human greed and intrigue.

The scrolls are not the possession of one nation. They belong to the whole of Mankind.

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(10) p.p.13-40

(11) p.p.9-27

(12) p.p.1-25

(13) p.p.3-69

(14) p.p.13-30

(15) p.p.11-19

CHAPTER ONE

"The Dead Sea Scrolls, Qumran and the Essenes"

The Dead Sea Scrolls, Qumran and the Essenes.

The corpus of ancient documents found in caves in the region of the Dead Sea Scrolls pose many interesting, but perplexing problems for the Biblical student. The Dead Sea Scrolls, as they are referred to (hereafter abbreviated DSS), comprise many different types of document, which, roughly speaking, can be grouped under three headings, as follows:-

- (1) Books of the Old Testament, including portions or fragments of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Judges, Samuel, Isaiah, Ezekiel and the Psalms.
- (2) Non-Biblical works, including commentaries on Micah, Zephanaiah and the Psalms; apocryphal works, e.g. the Book of Jubilees, Book of Noah, Testament of Levi.
- (3) Sectarian works, these appeared to be non-Biblical works, yet of a theological nature. They seemed to be the esoteric religious books of an unknown religious sect. Chief amongst these documents are:- The Manual of Discipline, the Zadokite Document, the Thanksgiving Hymns and the War Scroll.

The problem facing Biblical scholars is:- What sect owned this varied collection of works?

A general observation first on the nature of these scrolls. All of them were found in up to at least one dozen caves, within close proximity of each other. Most of them were found wrapped in linen coverings, and stored in pottery jars. Clearly, some effort at preservation had been made by those who had put them there. However, it should be noted that because the scrolls were found in nearly the same place, it does not mean to say that they belonged to the same period, or, indeed, to the same people. When the discoveries were first made, many scholars were prepared to rush in and say that the scrolls all represented a specified period in Jewish history.

As/

As more detailed archaeological excavations took place, their opinions were revised. It is nonsense to think that because certain artifacts, be they scrolls or arrowheads, are found in close proximity, they belong to the same period in time. It is more likely that they represent several periods, covering a long expanse of time. Therefore, in DSS we must be prepared to find inconsistencies and development in thought. The scrolls will reflect different levels of thought.

Also, if it is claimed that these scrolls reflect the thoughts and way of life of a religious sect, it is dangerous to regard the knowledge contained in them as final. It may be that a very unbalanced picture is being presented to us. More scrolls may have been lost than were found. Such hypothetical missing scrolls, if they were discovered, may well have given a very different picture of the whole. It is as if a scholar of the future built up a picture of Christianity from the records of a Roman Catholic or Muslim library. The scrolls give an indication of part of what this sect believed, but nothing more. They cannot give a complete picture, with every detail sharply drawn.

It should be remembered, further, that this collection of scrolls was probably part of an ancient sectarian library, and would, therefore, contain works of very differing nature. The fact that the scrolls can be grouped under the three headings on the first page indicates this quite clearly. A library is the most likely answer to the question, "What were the scrolls used for?". It has been postulated that they were the remains of a Jewish 'genizah', the storeroom in a Jewish synagogue where old, unusable copies of the scriptures are left to rot into nothing. Such finds had been known before, notably that which Solomon Schechter found, in 1896; a genizah attached to the Qara'ite synagogue in Old Cairo. Millar Burrows, one of the first archaeologists on the scene of the finds says this:-

"Sukenik/

"Sukenik and Del Medico were almost alone in considering the mass of manuscripts to be a genizah. Most of the other writers who discussed the matter agreed with the excavators of the cave that the scrolls had been hidden to preserve them in a time of danger, when the group that used them was scattered by war or persecution, or perhaps compelled to emigrate in a body under circumstances that prevented them from taking their library with them. That hypothesis, however, made use of the migration to the land of Damascus, which Sukenik supposed to be the occasion for using the cave as a genizah. Unfortunately we do not know when that migration occurred, if it occurred at all. Even scholars who believe that there was such a migration do not all agree that the scrolls were hidden at that time." (1)

Matthew Black reinforces this view:-

"All this would at least reinforce the theory that the hidden library at Qumran owes its existence to a solemn communal interment, possible at some time in the late first or early second century when the sect was dying out. Such a burial of books may have been among the last solemn duties of the remanent Essenes at Qumran, when the sect had either been swallowed up in Palestinian forms of Christianity or was disappearing owing to the constant pressure and hostility of Rabbinical Judaism." (2)

Thus two of the foremost scholars in this special field come to the conclusion that the DSS form part, at least, of a sectarian library.

That being so, it will be necessary to distinguish the books which are peculiarly sectarian, and those that are part of their "reference library". It is as if the Bible and the Koran were found side by side, and were taken as reflecting the beliefs of those who owned them. We must not fall into the trap of thinking this about DSS. Millar Burrows states:-

"Since/

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(1) "The Dead Sea Scrolls, p.76

(2) "The Scrolls and Christian Origins", p.12

"Since we are dealing not with one text but with many, we cannot of course take it for granted that all the texts come from the same sect or party. All the writings contained in the scrolls and fragments found in the caves were no doubt accepted and used, but they were not all necessarily produced by the sect. Even if they represent branches or successive phases of the same general movement, one such phase or branch may prove identical with a particular group in Jewish history, while those represented by other documents cannot be so identified." (3)

Those scrolls which we take to be produced by the sect are as follows:-

The Manual of Discipline, The Zadokite Document, The Messianic Rule, The War Rule, The Thanksgiving Hymns, various Liturgical Fragments; books of Biblical interpretation, including the Genesis Apocryphon, the Blessings of Jacob, the Words of Moses, Commentaries on Isaiah, the Prayer of Nabonidus, Commentary on Hosea, Commentary on Micah, Commentary on Nahum, Commentary on Habakkuk, Commentary on Psalm 37, a Midrash on the Last Days, a Messianic Anthology, a Commentary on Biblical Laws and the Copper Scroll.

These we take to be the peculiarly sectarian documents, reflecting the life, practice and thought of a Jewish religious sect. These we classify as the scrolls which are most relevant for our study,

.....

Having established to a fair degree of certainty that the DSS are part of a Jewish sectarian library, we must now seek to establish a source for it. To whom did this library belong, and why was it deposited in the caves?

The answer to the first question is relatively clear. At the foot of the cliffs containing the caves wherein the scrolls were discovered, and about a mile distant, lie the ruins of a monastery. The site is known as Khirbet Qumran. 'Khirbet' means 'ruins'. Thus the site can be spoken of as "The Ruins of Qumran".

Excavations did not begin at this site until 1950, some three or four years after the first scroll discoveries had been made. In the intervening period, there had been much intrigue concerning the ownership of the fragments, which, coupled with the uncertain, and, indeed, explosive political situation, had lead to a delay in full publication of the scrolls which had come to light. It is worth remembering that the discoveries were not all made at one time. A regular programme of search was being carried out over the whole district in the hope of finding more caves containing scroll fragments. Thus at the time of the initial excavations, scholars were still working in the dark. The full extent of the scroll finds was as yet unknown. It follows that the texts which were used to find a clue to the sect's identity were incomplete. In many ways, scholars of today are in a better position to judge the evidence, now that fewer fragments have been found, and publication of existing fragments is increasing annually.

For a description of the ruins, there can be none to surpass that of J.T. Milik, who himself was one of the first to assist in excavation of the site in 1951. He describes the ruined settlement thus:-

"The cemetery and ruins of Qumran stand on a projecting spur of the marl terrace which is surrounded by precipitous ravines and joined to the rest only by a narrow neck to the west. A path leads up on to this spur, and, before reaching the settlement itself, passes through a cemetery; This stops some four metres short of a sturdy wall running along the whole east side of the buildings. The living were thus kept free from contact with the dead. The main part of the cemetery numbers about 1,100 tombs dug in orderly rows /

rows and nearly all orientated north-south. They are covered by large stones and the burial is at a depth of more than one metre. The body lies in a loculus dug into the east wall of the tomb, protected from the earth above by flat stones or bricks. The head lies to the south and the hands are folded above the pelvis. In contrast with the Jewish practice of the period, no vases, jewels or coins are buried in the tomb, except for a few modest trinkets in the rare graves of women. Two smaller, perhaps later, cemeteries have been found at some distance to the north and south of the settlement.

Even from a distance, the general plan of the buildings which cover in all an area 80 x 80 metres is quite clear. They form a rectangular enclosure, with an impressive tower at the north west, and behind it to the west, lie some imposing installations. The main entrance pierces a wall running out of the north of the tower. As one passes through this gate, the most noticeable feature is a solidly built canal supplied by an aqueduct leading from a small dam at the foot of the Wadi Qumran. This canal brings water to seven large cisterns scattered all over the settlement. The first cistern to which the canal comes is circular, but all the others are rectangular, with steps inside them enabling one to reach down to the level of the water in the dry season.

The western part of the settlement consists of various rooms used either as store rooms or as workshops; we find a cornmill, a baker's oven, other fires (for a forge?), silos for storing fruits, and rooms for storing grains. In the south-west corner of this part there is a stable with boxes for about eight pack-animals.

The entrance to the main building itself lies at the south-west corner of the tower. This tower had three floors, the third being built of bricks. A strong belt of stones was at one time put around the lower courses of the tower, and this narrows considerably the short corridor which leads from the entrance along the south of the tower into the centre of the main building. A small courtyard to the east of this corridor opens into two rooms, in the first of which a low plastered bench runs along the walls. A staircase from the courtyard leads to an upper floor which ran above these two rooms and over a long third room to the east of them. Above this room /

room was a sort of verandah, well lit and aired. Here was the scriptorium which we have already described in Chapter II. To the east of the tower there is the kitchen with well-preserved rather rudimentary, fireplaces, and in the south-east corner of the main building are the laundry and sump for dirty water.

The largest room of all lies outside on the south of the main block, 22 x 4.5 metres in size; its eastern end is covered by a roof supported by four central pillars. Here, doubtless, the liturgical gatherings of the Essenes were held; their reading of and commenting on the scriptures, and their prayers and sacred meals. In the south-west corner of this room over a hundred pieces of pottery were found, which had probably served for the last meals that the community took just before the monastery was destroyed. Near this there is a circular paved area of the floor; it is hard to see what this could have been, except the base of a pulpit or lectern. An adjacent room served as a pantry, in which were found what had once been neat stacks of over a thousand pieces of pottery.

To the south-west there is a complete potters' shop with the basin where the clay was kneaded, the tank in which it was kept, a hollow where the wheels once stood, and two conical kilns, one for baking jars, and the other for smaller pieces." (4)

A brief quote will elucidate his reference to the 'Scriptorium' :-

"The main work of copying was done in the monastery of Qumran in a spacious room, the scriptorium found above the ground and probably open to one side. The scribes sat in it, squatting before long narrow tables. In addition to his sheet of papyrus or leather each scribe shared with his neighbour a small table on which was kept a big supply of reed pens (probably cut from near-by marshes), and cylindrical inkstands." (5)

.....

(4) "Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea", pp.47-49

(5) (Op.cit., p.22)

One very noticeable point about the buildings was that there was little or no evidence of living quarters; nothing that could be classed as dormitories. From further evidence in the caves, it can be deduced that many of the monks used the caves, or tents as living quarters, returning to the monastery daily for work, food and worship. A. Dupont-Sommer has this to say:-

"The terrace buildings had no dormitories or bedrooms. The members of the community must have lodged, not in these quarters which were reserved for the communal offices, but in tents or huts in the vicinity, and also in caves in the nearby cliffs. In the neighbourhood of Qumran, twenty five caves have been located containing pottery remains, and the fact that these remains are of the same type as those found in the manuscript caves and in Khirbet Qumran, suggests that at least some of these caves must have served as individual dwellings for members of the Qumran Community. With its tents and huts, the place must have looked like a camp, and it is precisely this word 'camp, encampment' (in Hebrew Mahaneh) which the Zadokite Document uses to describe the typical habitat of the communities of the sect of the Covenant." (6)

Edmund Sutcliffe, a Roman Catholic scholar, upholds this view. He states:-

"R. de Vaux has shown however, that others (i.e. caves) were used as dwelling places, and others again as receptacles for objects of daily domestic use required by those of the brethren who lived near the cliff in huts or tents. The evidence for this conclusion is the presence in uninhabitable cavities of jars for provisions, pots, pitchers and lamps; also of a few manuscripts, now fragmentary clearly not indicating the hiding place of the library in Caves 1 and 4, but the remains of a few books in use by some member of the community; and in Caves 17, together with crockery of the kind just mentioned, of several large forked posts of the shape required by tent-poles. As the caves were blocked by large stones, there is no doubt that the pottery and the poles belong to the same age." (7)

.....

(6) "The Essene Writings from Qumran", p.62

(7) "The Monks of Qumran", p.29

While agreeing to a large extent with Fr. Sutcliffe, we must guard against the danger of taking everything he says at face value. For instance, it is not necessarily true that because the pottery and the tent-pole posts were found sealed in the same cave they are of the same period. The poles could have been left long after the pottery was deposited in the cave, but before the sealing stone was placed in position.

J.T. Milik agrees with this general hypothesis:-

"In normal times these buildings did not house many occupants, and a good part of the community must have lived nearby in huts and caves. About thirty caves in the limestone cliffs were occupied, as is shown by the evidence of the pottery and manuscripts found in them. Some others were even cut out of the marly slope of the plateau itself." (8)

A coin of A.D.10 was found in the ruins, together with a jar of similar type as that found in Cave I. It is mainly the pottery evidence that ties up the Caves with the ruins at Qumran. The coins only show that there was an occupation of the monastery about 31 B.B. to about 14 A.D. It is the presence of the specially made pottery for storing the scrolls, with fragments of a similar type at Qumran which point to a strong link between the two. Milik again has a conclusive statement to make:-

"The first short season of excavations which took place in December, 1951, under the direction of Father R. de Vaux, and G.L. Harding, showed clearly a connexion between the former inhabitants of Hirbet Qumran and the owners of the Cave I Manuscripts. The pottery from both sites was of the same type and date. Furthermore, coins of the Roman Procurators provided data useful in determining at what period the site had been inhabited.

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Between 1953 and 1956 there took place four further campaigns in which the archaeologists uncovered the whole extent of the ruins, and started to work on another Essene complex of buildings that lay farther south near 'Ain Fesha.' The results achieved by the archaeologists, combined with further study of the manuscripts, soon compelled scholars to conclude that it was the Essenes who were principal occupants of the site and that the scrolls discovered had once formed part of their library". (9)

It would appear that the caves in the cliffs were in regular use by the members of the Qumran Community, both as living quarters and as makeshift store-rooms. They may well have been regarded as extensions, or annexes, to the main settlement itself. There would appear to be few scholars who would challenge the view that the scrolls found in the caves had their origin in the monastery at Qumran, and that there was some special reason for their being stored in the caves in preference to the rooms at Qumran.

.....

The answer to the second question asked previously, "Why was this library deposited in the caves?", is to be found partly in the archaeological evidence from the ruins themselves, and partly from the records of contemporary history.

From an archaeological viewpoint there is no doubt that the caves and the ruins at Qumran were used by the same group of people. A. Dupont-Sommer has this to say about it:-

"From the very earliest campaigns, pottery specimens were found similar to those found in the manuscript caves, thereby proving that there was probably some connection between the Scrolls and the ancient settlements of Khirbet Qumran. This probability became a certainty as continuing excavation uncovered the entire site and revealed the various peculiarities of the buildings." (10)

It would seem that the caves had been used as a depository for the Qumran Library at the onset of some terrible crisis which threatened the very life of the sect. Can any such crisis be found in Jewish history to square with the material evidence? Briefly speaking, the archaeological evidence from the ruins shown that they were occupied in at least three phases, spanning the years between c.135 B.C. and 68/69 A.D. F.F. Bruce lists the evidence from coins found in the ruins. He states:-

"We have said that when a beginning was made with the excavation of the site in 1951, a coin of A.D. 10 was found in close conjunction with a jar of identical type to those found in the caves. Later excavation has brought to light some 650 coins of the Graeco-Roman period, by which the successive stages of occupation can be dated with reasonable certainty. The record of the coins starts in the reigns of the Seleucid King Antiochus VII (139-129 B.C.), and carries us forward without a break to the reign of the last Hasmonean King, Antigonus (40-37 B.C.), those from the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 B.C.), being particularly frequent. But from the long reign of Antigonus's successor, Herod the Great, only five coins have turned up to date. The record is resumed in the reign of Herod's son Archelaus (4 B.C. - 6 A.D.), and from there we have a further continuous series of coins taking us on to A.D.68 - from Archelaus, from the Roman procurators of Judea/
.....
(10) p.62 op.cit.

Judea under the Emperors Augustus (A.D. 6-14), and Tiberius (A.D.14-37), a silver coin of Tyre dated A.D.29, a specially large number of coins of Agrippa I (A.D. 37-44), and several of the procurators of Judea under Claudius (A.D. 44-54) and Nero (A.D.54-66).

"During the revolt of A.D. 66-70, the Jewish insurgent authorities struck their own coins. Of these there were found in the ruins at Qumran seventy three belonging to the second year of the revolt (A.D. 67), but only five belonging to the third year (A.D. 68). Contemporary with these coins of the revolt are coins minted in the coastal cities of Caesarea, Dora and Ashkelon, which may reasonably be regarded as pieces from the pay of Roman soldiers. These and later coins were found in the level of the military barracks constructed within the ruins, evidently for the use of the Roman garrison which was stationed there for some years. This particular coin record comes to an end about A.D. 90. Thirteen coins from Phase IV bear witness to the presence of the insurgent outpost at Qumran during the Ben-Kosebah revolt of A.D. 132-135; these include one coin of Vespasian (A.D. 69-79), three of Trajan (A.D. 98-117), and one Jewish coin of the type struck by the insurgent leaders during the revolt.

"Phase II of the occupation of Khirbet Qumran by the community was brought to an end neither by a voluntary withdrawal nor by an earthquake, but by the violence of fire and sword. The destruction was much more thorough than that caused by the earthquake nearly a hundred years before. The walls were demolished, a layer of black ash covered the site, and a quantity of arrow-heads added their silent testimony to the general picture.

"A sample of charcoal from the room where the large stack of earthenware vessels was found was subjected to the radio-carbon test. A date of A.D.16 (with a margin of deviation of 80 years either way), was reached for the age of the wood, and a date of A.D.66 (with a similar margin of Deviation) for the burning."

"If Josephus' account of the earthquake of 31 B.C. throws light on the damage wrought at the end of the first period of the building's occupation by the community, another part of his narrative helps to account for the destruction which marked the end/

end of the second period. For he relates that in May of A.D.68, Vespasian, commander-in-chief of the Roman army in Palestine occupies Jericho, and from there the tenth legion advanced against Jerusalem in the following year, leaving a garrison in Jericho. What contacts the community at Qumran may have had with the insurgents we cannot say. They may have made common cause with one of the insurgent groups, considering that, although this was not exactly how they had envisaged the eschatological struggle between the sons of light and the sons of darkness, this was manifestly the long-awaited struggle, from which they could not remain aloof. On the other hand, their headquarters, so well adapted for defence purposes, may have been commandeered by the Zealots, with or without their approval. In any case, a stronghold like theirs was bound to receive hostile attention from the Roman forces in the District. We can scarcely doubt, then, that it was destroyed by the Romans about this time; and there is no further trace of any connexion between the community and its former headquarters". (11)

This long quotation sets out the place of the Qumran settlement very well. With very few exceptions, this is the commonly held view to date, both in regard to dating and in regard to the ultimate fate of the sect. J.T. Milik agrees with F.F. Bru using almost the same words:-

"The second phase of Essene occupation lasted about seventy years. Its end came in the summer of A.D.68, the third year of the First Jewish Revolt. Josephus tells us that the Legio X Fretensis and Legio XV Apollinaris campaigned in the Jordan valley destroying the major defensive points. At Qumran seventy-three bronze coins of the year II of the First Jewish Revolt were found; the year III, starting in the spring of 68, furnished only five coins. Together with this Jewish revolutionary issue we find coin of the year 67-68 minted on the coast, nine from Caesarea and four from Dora. In these mints Roman Emperors used to strike coins for the provinces and the legions, and it can be safely assumed that these pieces belonged to the pay of Roman legionaries. Traces of a violent fire and several arrow-heads, with the three-winged form (11) P.51 "Second Thoughts on the Dead Sea Scrolls.

typical of the Roman army, show that some resistance was offered to them". (12)

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(12) pp54-55 op,cit.

Even such a person as G.R. Driver, who normally disagrees with majority opinion, tends to agree, generally, with this scheme of dating. He puts it like this:-

"These last occupants of the buildings, which they had reconstructed ex hypothesi for their own purposes, were closely connected if not identical, with the Covenanters and the Zealots, as argued below. When these parties came to an end with the suppression of the First Revolt of the Romans (A.D.66-73), the buildings were destroyed or fell into ruin once again. The series of coins found in the ruins runs to A.D.68-9; but this year must not be taken as the indisputable date of the destruction of the buildings, since the deposit of odd coins in a place is largely a matter of chance and cannot be accepted as fixing an absolute date in default of supporting evidence. Yet, however, the evidence afforded by them is evaluated, the general picture may be accepted as substantially correct; for the buildings if not destroyed in A.D.68-9, would hardly have been spared in A.D.73, when the Revolt finally ended." (13)

While Driver's caution gives timely warning of jumping to conclusions too soon, it yet appears that he fails to account for the presence of so many locally minted coins of this period. It would seem a little strange if seventy-three legionnaires chanced to drop a coin from their 'pay-pocket' at Qumran at the same time. This is more likely to be the contents of a purse or chest which has perished with the passage of time, but which was dropped or placed at a spot in Qumran at the time when the coins were fairly new. The evidence still seems to point to the final abandonment of the monastery by the sect at the onset of a Roman attack in A.D.68-

It would be the normal reaction of this sect to take steps to ensure that their precious library of sacred books was preserved for their followers, when they learned of the approach of the Romans. Thus they hid them in the nearby caves, perhaps hoping to return after the crisis was over and settle in the monastery once again. Most scholars would agree that this is the reason for the manuscripts being in the caves. Millar Burrows sums it up in one short paragraph:-

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(13) "The Judean Scrolls" p.47

"The scrolls found in the caves of the Wady Qumran were undoubtedly left when the central building was destroyed and the neighbourhood was abandoned. As our account of the excavations has shown, this was during the war of 66-70 A.D., quite possibly in the spring of 68. How long the manuscripts had been hidden in the caves at that time is less certain, but de Vaux may well be right in believing that they were hidden at a time when the necessity of abandoning the settlement was imminent." (14)

An interesting peice of speculation about the ultimate fate of Qumran is given by J.M. Allegro in his book "The Treasure of the Copper Scroll". This scroll was different from other finds in that it was embossed on a sheet of copper. When deciphered it proved to be an inventory of precious vessels, possibly those used in the Temple hidden in the desert regions round the Dead Sea. Allegro advances the theory that Qumran was taken over by the Zealots as a major outpost of defence and during their occupation this scroll of copper was engraved and placed beside some of the sect's library stored in what is now known as Cave I. He states:-

"One detail Josephus gives in his accounts of these raids is of particular interest from our immediate point of view. He says that among the places raided were 'holy places' (hiera). The common interpretation of this phrase as synagogues seem hardly relevant, for such places were not usually the repositories of large sums of money. It is more probable that Josephus was thinking of religious settlements of the Essene type at Qumran, and it might well have been at this time that the monastery there fell into Zealot hands. We know that the Essenes must have had a considerable store of wealth, since, for at least a century and a half, each initiate into the community had been required to pool all his wordly possessions into a common fund, as the Christians were also doing (Ac¹⁴ 32f). The/

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The prize at Qumran was even greater; the site had originally been developed centuries before as a defence post, and it could be so used again. Even today, from the tower, the visitor can have uninterrupted views as far as the Jordan River in the north to the headland of Ras Feshkha to the south.

"It has long been suggested that the last defenders of the monastery were not the pacifist minded Essenes but their more warlike compatriots, the Zealots, and our copper scroll now makes this a certainty. The date of the monastery's destruction by the Romans has been well fixed archaeologically and historically at June, 68 A.D., when Vespasian's troops reached Jericho, so that the Zealot occupation probably lasted about three months. During that time they will have engraved and hidden the copper scroll, compiling it largely from reports sent in from Jerusalem and other garrisons. If current rumours are correct that the Bedouin have another sheet of copper in their possession from the last scroll cave to be discovered (No.11), then the Zealots might even have been making duplicates of the one found in 1952 for deposit in the other main treasure caches, similar to the fuller version which was apparently put away in the Temple area (Item 61)."

"If the Zealots then, are responsible for the writing and deposit of the copper scroll, they must also have hidden the parchment documents which lay with it in the cave. This does not of course, mean that these works came from a Zealot library, for there is nothing to distinguish them from Essene literature represented by the other Qumran scrolls. It does mean that these and probably other scroll caches were laid by Zealot hands, and this throws light on another of the scrolls' perplexing problems.

"Examination of the scroll fragments from one particular cave, has shown that these documents were torn apart and slashed with knives before being thrown into the chamber in which they were found. The/

The damage could have been done after they were deposited, except that one piece of a sectarian scroll is reported to have on its back a roughly scribbled tally list of some kind, written in a Greek cursive script. Secular Greek of this nature appears nowhere else in the scrolls apart from marginal code letters inscribed against certain of the items in the copper scroll. One suspects, therefore, that this use of Greek was the work of one group, certainly not to be identified with the owners of the sectarian scroll thus desecrated. It would suit the situation if, when the Zealots drove out the Essenes during their raid on the monastery in the spring of 68 A.D., they found there the torn and slashed remains of a considerable part of the Essene library, pieces of which they then proceeded to use as 'scrap paper'.

"The marks of destruction have all the signs of urgency but not necessarily of vandalism and could have been the work of the Essenes themselves. It must be remembered that this was an esoteric society; all members were required on oath to keep the community's secrets, and a number of their scrolls have been found written in code. In the event of a sudden emergency, such as the descent of the Zealot bands upon the monastery would have constituted, the Essenes would have quite probably cut and torn their scrolls to prevent their being read by unauthorised persons. How well they succeeded only those of us who have spent years trying to put the pieces together again and read them can tell! Mercifully the scrolls could not be burned, since this is forbidden for any document containing the divine name. If it be asked why the Zealots should have troubled to conceal such disfigured documents before they, in turn, left in the face of the enemy, the answer is probably to be found in the previously quoted rabbinic injunction that before a doomed city was destroyed all rolls of Scripture must be hidden away. As we now know, quite a third of the works from Qumran are of books of the Bible, and even in their torn state this must have been evident enough to the Zealots. We have already learned enough of them to appreciate that their piety would certainly have prevented their wantonly leaving books of the Law to be defiled by the Roman barbarians.

Again/

Again, if the emergency scroll deposits were the work of the Zealots, this might explain the very different treatment afforded the scrolls in the first cave to be discovered. Here the Arab goatherd found the documents wrapped in linen cloths and carefully laid in jars. This looks like the handiwork of their original owners, the Essenes, and Cave One may quite possibly have been a store rather than an emergency cache." (15)

Allegro is a very good scrolls scholar, but is rather inclined to use his somewhat vivid imagination, causing him to overstep the boundary between rational assessment of the evidence and pure fancy. In the above quotation it seems to be the case that he has let his imagination run away with him a little too much. His basic scholarship is excellent, but spoiled to some extent by his unbridled enthusiasm. While his Zealot theory might well be true, and, indeed, has been found in other places, it is yet true to say that there is no conclusive evidence that the Zealots did act in this way. The presence of coins of the First Jewish Revolt does not necessarily mean that they were put there by Zealots. They could equally well have been part of the goods given by a novice to the common purse, even at that late period in the sect's history. Again, they could have been put there by the Romans, either in accordance with the 'pay-packet' theory or as part of the spoils taken from captured Jewish revolutionaries. Nevertheless Allegro's basic position is in no way out of line with majority opinion that the people who put the scrolls in the caves, whatever the reason, and the people who inhabited the ruins at Qumran were one and the same. The problem remains to identify these people with some degree of certainty.

It will have been noticed that many of the quotations, in the preceding pages, concerning the sect, have quite openly begged the whole question by referring to the sect as the 'Essenes', without prior proof that this is a valid piece of identification. Majority opinion, again, jumped to the conclusion, before proper publication of the texts or even before much interest was shown in Khirbet Qumran, that the 'owners' of the scrolls were the Essenes. A. Dupont-Sommer is one of those who quite openly admits that his first thoughts on the scrolls linked them with the

the Essenes. He writes:-

"Nevertheless, despite the great interest of the Qumran Biblical manuscripts, it is the non-Biblical documents - very much more numerous, as has been pointed out - which make the Dead Sea discoveries so important. Through them we learn, directly and in detail, about the doctrines, institutions and customs of the Qumran sect, of a Jewish mystical sect that is to say, which flourished in Palestine around the beginning of the Christian era, at the very time of the appearance of Jesus and the preaching of the Christian Gospel."

What was this sect? The late Professor Sukenik of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem was the first to suggest that they were Essenes. He was present in Palestine in 1947 when negotiations were begun with the Bedoin for the purchase of the scrolls found in Cave I. Informed of these dealings, he was able to acquire three of the scrolls and to borrow four others, and was consequently the first scholar to examine the new documents. The idea of their Essene origin sprung to his mind immediately." (16)

It is a pity that Sukenik did not wait a little longer before making any pronouncements on the identity of the sect, since their Essene origin became by no means certain as more scrolls came to light. However, Dupont-Sommer was not afraid to ally himself with Sukenik's judgement. He sets down his own beliefs about the problem:-

"First of all, from the very beginning the script itself suggested, and even demanded, an ancient date; even if there were some hesitation about fixing this exactly, the script obviously dated from some time in the first century B.C. - from about 150 B.C. to A.D.50. For my part I recognised this immediately the old theories of an Ebionite or Karaite origin were thereby excluded, though these theories were revived once more in 1950 by some scholars. But there was another essential point: since the scrolls were found in a cave near Khirbet Qumran, had they not been placed there by people living in the vicinity, or more precisely - considering the contents of the scrolls - by a sect of Jewish mystics from some desert settlement in the region of

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of Khirbet Qumran itself?"

"The famous text of Pliny the Elder, quoted in the preceding chapter, sprang to mind, with its exact location of the great Essene establishment near the north-western shore of the Dead Sea. Thus the Essene hypothesis was advanced, this time concretely." (17)

This idea found immediate popularity, as it still does. One of the best and most recent books on the period, "Palestinian Judaism in New Testament Times", by Werner Forster, still agrees with the Essene theory. This statement appears:-

"These three things, the caves with their manuscripts, the site of the ruin at Khirbet Qumran, and the cemetery or cemeteries, belong together and give us information about the quasi-monastic community of the Essenes about which we knew something before the finds, principally through Pliny, Josephus and Philo of Alexandria." (18)

That is a very concise summing up of the modern theory concerning the identity of the Qumran sect.

The source material concerning the Essenes falls into two categories, which might be termed "geographical", or "literary". The first category is filled by a quotation from the "Historia Naturalis" of Pliny the Elder (V.17,73):-

"On the west coast of Lake Asphaltitis, are settled the Essenes, at some distance from the noisome odours that are experienced on the shore itself. They are a lonely people, the most extraordinary in the world, who live without women, without love, without money, with the palm trees for their only companions. But they maintain their numbers, for recruits come to them in abundance, men who are wearied of life or driven by the changes of fortune to adopt their way of living. And so, through countless ages, hard though it is to believe among which no children are born has survived. Others/

.....

(17) op.cit., pp.40-41

(18) p.47 "Palestinian Judaism in New Testament Times".

Others who feel repentance for their lives become their children. Lower down than the Essenes was the town of Engada which in the fertility of its soil and its palm groves was surpassed only Jericho, but which today is reduced like it to a heap of ashes. Then comes the fortress of Masada in the mountains, it too at some distance from Lake Asphaltitis." (19)

The original Latin text is as follows:-

"Ab occidente litora Esseni fugiunt usque qua nocent, gens sola et in toto orbe praeter ceteras mira, sine ulla femina, omni venere ad dicata, sine pecunia, socia palmarum. In diem ex aequo convenarum turba renascitur large frequentantibus quos vita fessos ad mores eorum fortuna fluctibus agitat. Ita per seculorum milia (incredibile dictu) gens aeterna est in qua nemo nascitur: tam fecunda illis aliorum vitae paenitentia est."

"Infra hos Engada oppidum fuit, secundum ab Hierosolymis fertilitate palmetorumque nemoribus, nunc alterum bustum. Inde Masada castellum in rupe et ipsum haut procul Asphaltite."

.....

The argument that the Essene settlement was at Qumran runs as follows:-

1. There was an Essene settlement north of Engada ('Ain Gedi).
2. Qumran is north of Engada.
3. There are no other likely spots where such a major settlement could be found, until Jericho, further north.
4. Jericho is not on the west coast of "Lake Asphaltitis" (i.e. the Dead Sea).
5. Therefore, Qumran is the Essene settlement.

This argument is sustained to a large extent in the writings of J.T. Milik. He comments on this description of Pliny's thus:-

"It can easily be seen from the end of Pliny's account that he is alluding to the condition of Palestine after the First Jewish Revolt; but the Essene settlement at Qumran, as the excavations show, was destroyed during this revolt. Such a mixing of contemporary information with anachronistic details is not unique in Pliny; in his account of Palmyra too he uses earlier geographic material. Broadly speaking, the details provided by Pliny about the Essenes correspond to those of Josephus and Philo, which we shall discuss later. The latter writers, however, describe mainly the Essene communities scattered in the towns and villages of Palestine; Pliny alone mentions that there was a particularly important settlement west of the Dead Sea, at some distance from the shore and north of 'Ain Gedi'. It has been noticed that in Pliny the preposition 'infra' always means 'down stream', and that, for the classical writers as well as for the authors of the Talmud, the Dead Sea, is a continuation of the Jordan; accordingly, 'Ain Gedi' was 'down-stream' from the Essenes' site. Before the discoveries at Qumran scholars had not paid sufficient attention to the precise meaning of the phrase 'infra hos', and used to place the Essenes settlement in the vicinity of 'Ain Gedi'. The ruins of Qumran are virtually the only remains of any importance on the Dead Sea Shore between 'Ain Gedi' and Jericho. They also agree with his remark in being set back about half a mile from the shore itself, on a small plateau swept every afternoon by a cooling breeze". (20)

Edmund Sutcliffe is a little more dubious than Milik about the reliability of Pliny's work. He writes this criticism:-

"His great work, *Naturalis Historia*, was finished and dedicated to the Emperor Titus, in A.D. 77, by which time the monastery at Qumran had long been a ruin. He had held a high post under Tiberius Julius Alexander. Titus's chief of staff during the operations against Jerusalem, and in preface he speaks of their friendly relations while together in camp. But as the monastery was destroyed during the course of the Jewish War in A.D.68, and he speaks of the Essenes as still living by the Dead Sea, his account can hardly be that of an eye-witness. He was an omniverous reader and took copious notes of all he read. His source will have preceded the campaign in Palestine and in his revision this statement escaped correction." (21)

Despite his scepticism, Sutcliffe is still prepared to accept Pliny's description of the Essene settlement position as being Qumran. So also is Millar Burrows:-

"For myself I must say that the geographical connection remains the strongest reason for regarding the Qumran sectaries as Essenes. If they were not the same, there was hardly room for both Essenes and Covenanters in the vicinity of the Wadi Qumran." (

The present writer must agree with majority opinion, and claim that on the basis of interpretation of the geographic description given by Pliny the Elder, the people of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the inhabitants of the monastery at Qumran were Essenes.

.....

(21) op.cit., p.16

(22) op.cit., p.280

It is now relevant to turn to the 'doctrinal' or 'literary' evidence, to compare the life and thought of the sect as reflected within the scrolls, with the accounts of the life and thought of the Essenes, as set down by the historians Philo of Alexandria and Flavius Josephus. Both were reasonably contemporary with the Essenes. Josephus, in fact, claims to have spent some time with them. He writes:-

"At about sixteen years of age, I made up my mind to acquire some experience of the 'sects' among us. There are three such, as we have frequently said, the first that of the Pharisees, and the second of the Sadducees, and the third of the Essenes. For in this way I thought to choose the best, if I had knowledge of all. I therefore disciplined myself severely, and with much toil passed through the three of them. Since I did not consider even the experience thus gained sufficient for myself, and had learned that a certain Banus by name was living in the wilderness, wearing clothes from trees, using as food what grew of itself, and frequently bathing himself with cold water by day and night for purification I became his devoted disciple. I lived with him for three years and when I had done what I wanted to do, returned to the city. Being now nineteen years old, I began to regulate my conduct following the 'sect' of the Pharisees which resembles the Stoic school among the Greeks". (23)

It is doubtful from what Josephus writes that he had much more than a passing acquaintance with the Essenes. Banus might well have been a quasi-Essene, from whom Josephus picked up a sketchy idea of the life and thought of the Essenes. Josephus lived in the period 37 A.D. - 97 A.D. His chief works which concern the Essenes are:-

(a)/

.....

- (a) "A History of the Jewish War", consisting of seven books, spanning the period 170 B.C. to his own time. It was first written in Aramaic, but translated into Greek by himself. This work contains the fullest account of the Essenes.
- (b) "Jewish Antiquities", in twenty books, from the creation of the world to 66 A.D. In addition to a shorter reference to the Essenes, which adds nothing to the information already contained in the 'War', it also contains references to Jesus and John the Baptist.

The other literary source is the Jewish writer Philo of Alexandria, who wrote in the first half of the first century A.D. In his work "Every Good Man is Free", he makes some reference to the Essenes. They are also given a mention in his "Hypothetica".

The most striking point of similarity between the historians and the scrolls is found in regard to Sharing of Goods.

Josephus says:-

"They are despisers of wealth, and a thing to wonder at among them is their community of goods; it is not possible to find anyone among them possessing more than another. They have a law that those who enter the sect should turn over their property for the public use of the order, the consequence being that among them all there does not appear either the degradation of poverty or excess of wealth, the possessions of each individual being put all together to be the common property of all as brethern.....

The overseers of their common property are elected and chosen by the whole body, each with regard to his special functions".
(24)

Also:-/

.....

Also:-

".....Moreover they hold their possessions in common, and the wealthy man receives no more enjoyment from his property than the man who possesses nothing....." (25)

Philo reinforces these statements:-

"Then there is a single treasury for all, common disbursements a common wardrobe, and common food when they hold their communal meals. Among no other people will you find such things as having a common roof, a common life, and a common board more firmly established in practice. That is only to be expected, for all that they receive in wages in their daily work they do not keep as their own private property, but contributing it to the common purse they thus provide a means of benefiting those who wish to avail themselves of such help. The sick are not neglected because of any inability to provide for themselves, since they have the cost of treatment available from the common purse, so that expenses can be met out of these ample funds, giving them a complete sense of security. To elders there is accorded respect and consideration such as is given by real children to their parents; and their old age is cared for by all manner of generosity by countless hands and minds". (26)

Also:-

"Their manner of life bears testimony to their freedom. No one suffers himself to possess any private property at all, neither house nor slave nor land, nor cattle, nor any of the other provisions and resources of wealth. They bring everything together into a common stock and enjoy the benefit of everything in common.

.....

(25) "Antiquities" XVIII, 20

(26) "Every Good Man", 86

10. Each group, when it has received the wages of those who are thus differently employed, gives them to one who has been appointed treasurer. On receiving it, he immediately buys what is required, and provides food in abundance, and everything else which human life requires.
12. They do not have only a common table, but share a common wardrobe, for winter they have laid up stout clothes, and for summer, cheap tunics, so that it is easily possible for anyong who wishes to take whatever he wants, since the property of each belongs to all, and of all again to each.
13. More than this, should any one of them fall ill, he is treated at the common expense and nursed with the care and consideration of all....." (27)

Compare these words from Section VI of the Manual of Discipline (1)

"After he has entered the Council of the Community he shall not touch the pure meal of the Congregation until one full year is completed and until he has been examined concerning his spirit and deeds; nor shall his property be mingled with that of the Congregation

Then when he has completed one year within the Community, the Congregation shall deliberate his case with regard to his understanding and observance of the Law. And if it be his destiny, according to the judgment of the Priests and the multitude of the men of their Covenant to enter the company of the Community, his property and earnings shall be handed over to the Bursar of the Congregation who shall register it to his account and shall not spend it for the Congregation. He shall not touch the Drink of the Congregation until he has completed a second year among the men of the Community. But when the second year has passed, he shall be examined, and if it be his destiny, according to the judgment of the Congregation to enter the Community, then shall he be inscribed among his brethern in the order of his rank for the Law, and for justice, and for the pure meal; his property shall be mingled, and he shall offer his counsel and judgment to the Community."

.....

It is hard to resist the temptation to say that Philo and Josephus are describing the same kind of thing as quoted from IQS. One point from IQS is interesting. When the novice hands over his property, the Bursar is to "register it to his account and shall not spend it for the Congregation". The implication behind the testimony of Philo and Josephus is that this common pool of money is spent on what might be called, "social Service", to the old, the sick and the poor. Perhaps Josephus and Philo were guessing at what happened to the money, or it may be that the sect never thought it worthwhile to make any definite note about it, if their charity was well known.

It will be noted that in this last reference from IQS mention is made to the "pure Meal of the Congregation". It is clear from the very frequent references made in IQS that this meal formed the centre of the religious life of the people at Qumran. It would be monotonous, and unnecessary, to detail every single reference to it in the scrolls, but here are two references to it, apart from that made from the last quotation from IQS.

(1) IQS.V.par.6:-

"They shall not enter the water to partake of the pure meal of the saints, for they shall not be cleansed unless they turn from their wickedness; for all who transgress His word are unclean....."

(2) IQS.VII.par.2:-

"If he has spoken in anger against one of the priests inscribed in the Book, he shall do penance for one year and shall be excluded for his soul's sake from the pure meal of the Congregation. But if he has spoken unwittingly he shall do penance for six months."

Josephus describes the eating habits of the Essenes thus:-

"After this rite of purification they come together in a special room, where no one of another sect is permitted to enter, and being themselves purified they arrive in their refectory as if they were entering a sacred shrine. When they have seated themselves silently their baker serves them with bread in order, and their cook sets before each one dish consisting of a single course.

The/

The (Chief) Priest says a prayer before meat and no one may partake before the prayer. When the meat is over, he prays again - at the beginning and the end they do honour to God as the provider of life. Thereafter, laying aside their garments as sacred vestments, they return to work till evening. On their return they dine in the same way, though guests sit along with them, if they happen to be present with them. No shouting or uproar ever disturbs their dwelling, and in their discussion they give way among themselves to those senior to them in rank. To persons outside, the silence of those within appears as a dreadful mystery; the reason for it is their constant sobriety and the limiting of food and drink to what satisfies nature".
(28)

Philo merely mentions in several places in "Every Good Man", that they have common meals, but gives no more detail.

The two meals of the Scrolls and Josephus are not exactly the same. It may be that Josephus is guessing a lot, or depending on rumour for his information. Undoubtedly the sect regarded their meals as holy, a foreshadowing of the great Messianic Banquet in the Age to Come. For them it was part of their eschatological outlook, transforming the common food into something of a sacramental nature. Note the reference by Josephus to the wearing of "Sacred Vestments". There is no reference to this in IQS. Perhaps Josephus has known of the sacramental aspect of their meals, without knowing the details, as no information was likely to be given to those outside this esoteric sect, and has quite brazenly filled in the details from his own imagination.

Nevertheless, it is strange to find that the sect has a meal, sacred and private in character, not unlike that of the Essenes as described by Josephus. It would be unlikely that the two accounts would match in every detail, since one account is, as it were, an "inside" account, and the other an "outside" account. But there is a sufficient amount of evidence to claim that Josephus is talking about the same meal as that described in the Manual of Discipline.

.....

Another point of contact is to be found in regard to the Novitiate for full membership of the sect. Josephus, describing the Essene novitiate, writes:-

"Admission is not immediate for those who became enthusiastic for the sect. They lay down for him the same way of life for a year while he remains outside (the sect), providing him with a small axe and the loin-cloth mentioned above and white garment. When after this period he gives proof of self-control, he is brought into closer touch with their manner of life and shares in the purer waters for (ritual) cleansing, but is not yet allowed to join their common life. After this proof of fortitude, his character is tested for two further years, and when he is shown to be worthy, he is then enrolled in their company". (29)

Philo does not mention the Essene novitiate.

In IQS.VI par.8 ff. The details of the sect's novitiate are given:-

"Every man, born of Israel, who freely pledges himself to join the Council of the Community, shall be examined by the Guardian at the head of the Congregation concerning his understanding and his deeds. If he is fitted to the discipline, he shall admit him into the Covenant that he may be converted to the truth and depart from all falsehood, and he shall instruct him in all the rules of the Community. And later, when he comes to stand before the Congregation, they shall all deliberate his case, and according to the decision of the Council of the Congregation he shall either enter or depart. After he has entered the Council of the Community he shall not touch the pure Meal of the Congregation until one full year is completed, and until he has been examined concerning his spirits and deeds; nor shall his property be mingled with that of the Congregation. Then when he has completed one year within the Community, the Congregation shall deliberate his case with regard to his understanding and observance of the Law. And if it be his destiny, according to the judgment of the Priests and the multitude of the men of their Covenant, to enter the company of the Community, his property and earnings shall be handed over to the Bursar of the Congregation who shall register it to his account and shall not spend it for the Congregation. He shall not touch the Drink of the Congregation until he has completed a second year among the men of the Community.

(29) "War" II.viii.7

But when his second year has passed, he shall be examined, and if it be his destiny, according to the judgment of the Congregation, to enter the Community, then he shall be inscribed among the brethern in the order of his rank for the Law, and for justice, and for the pure Meal; his property shall be mingled and he shall offer counsel and judgment to the Community."

It would seem as if the two quotations refer to the same group of people.

Yet another point of contact comes to light on the subject of Oaths. Josephus says of the Essenes:-

"But before he touches the common food he swears before them fearful oaths, first to hold God in reverence, then to maintain justice among men: and neither to harm anyone deliberately nor under instruction, but always to hate the unjust and to strive on the side of the just; always to keep faith with all, especially those in power, for office does not come to anyone apart from God; and should he himself bear rule that he will never abuse his authority, or either in dress or by any superior decoration, outshine those subordinate to him; always to love the truth and expose liars; to keep his hands from theft and his sould clean from filthy lucre; not to conceal anything from his fellow-sectarians, nor to disclose anything of theirs to others, even if one should torture him to death. Besides these things, he swears to communicate their doctrine to no c otherwise than he himself has received it; to abstain from robbery, and likewise carefully to preserve the books of their sect and the names of the angels. It is by such oaths that they secure to themselves who are admitted." (30)

Philo denies this:-

"They offer many proofs of their love of God, a purity which is constant and uninterrupted through their whole life by abstaining from oaths, by veracity, by their belief that the deity is the cause of all good and of nothing evil." (31)

(30) "War" II
VIII.7

(31) "Every Good Man" XIII, 84

The Qumran sect certainly employed oaths, as can be illustrated from 1QS, section V, paras,3.4:-

"On joining the Community, this shall be their code of behaviour with respect to all these precepts.

Whoever approaches the Council of the Community shall enter the Covenant of God in the presence of all who have freely pledged themselves. He shall undertake by a binding oath to return with all his heart and soul to every command of the Law of Moses in accordance with all that has been revealed of it to the sons of Zadok, the Keepers of the Covenant who together have freely pledged themselves to His truth and to walking in the way of His delight. And he shall undertake by the Covenant to separate from all the men of falsehood who walk in the way of wickedness."

Again, there is this superficial resemblance between the Qumran sect and the Essenes, despite the contradiction of Philo's statement.

There are some other, lesser similarities to be observed. There is some evidence of Sun-worship, both among the Essenes and the Qumran sect.

Josephus:-

"With regard to their religion, they have their own distinctive piety. For before the sun rises they utter no word on common matters, but offer to him certain ancestral prayers, as if entreating him to rise." (32)

Compare:-

"He shall bless Him (with the offering) of the lips at the times ordained by Him; at the beginning of the dominion of light, and at its end when it retires to its appointed place.....When the heavenly lights shine out from the dwelling place of Holiness, and also when they retire to the place of Glory.....at the beginning of seasons in all times to come." (33)

.....

(32) "War", II, viii, 5

(33) 1QS Section X, par.1

Philo points out an Essene dislike of animal sacrifices:-

"Palestine Syria, too, which by a no means small portion of the very populous nation of the Jews inhabits, is not unproductive of high moral excellence. There are said to be some among them, in number more than four thousand, certain people called Essenes, a name derived in my opinion from ἑσμενός, though not as an exact equivalent of the Greek: the reason for their name is that they are primarily religious devotees, not by any cult of animal sacrifices but in their resolve to maintain the sanctity of their minds." (34)

The same kind of distaste for animal sacrifices is found in 1QS section IX, par.2.

"They shall atone for guilty rebellion and for sins of unfaithfulness that they may obtain loving kindness for the land without the flesh of holocausts and the fat of sacrifice. And prayer rightly offered shall be as an acceptable fragrance of righteousness, and perfection of way as a delectable free will offering."

There is also a measure of similarity with regard to Sabbath observance.

The Damascus Document, section VI, par 3 says:-

"They shall keep the Sabbath day according to its exact interpretation....."

Josephus says of the Essenes:-

"They forbid spitting into the midst of the company or to the right, and even more strictly than all other Jews, engaging in work on the Sabbath. For they not only prepare their food a day ahead, in order not to kindle a fire on that day, but they do not even venture to remove any vessel, or to go to the stool." (36)

Most of Sections X,XI and XII of the Damascus Document are concerned with the details of laws for strict Sabbath Observance.

Both the Essenes and the Qumran sect placed great emphasis on rank and position.

Josephus:-

"They are divided, according to the duration of their life under discipline, into four grades; and so great is the inferiority of juniors to seniors that, if a junior should touch a senior, the latter takes a bath, just as if he had been in contact with a

(34) "Every Good Man" section 75

(36) "War" II, viii,9

foreigner." (37)

In the directions for the Assembly of the Congregation, 1QS, Section VI lays it down:-

"Each man shall sit in his place; the Priests shall sit first, and the elders second, and all the rest of the people according to their rank, and thus shall they be questioned concerning the Law, and concerning any counsel or matter coming before the Congregation, each man bringing his knowledge to the Council of the Community. No man shall interrupt a companion before his speech has ended, nor speak before a man of higher rank; each man shall speak in his turn."

There is also a certain hint of similarity in the field of study and Biblical interpretation. While there is nothing really explicitly stated in the scrolls as the method of interpretation, it is abundantly clear that the sect spent a major part of its time in studying and interpreting not only the Mosaic Law, but the Prophets and some of the Wisdom literature. The presence of scrolls such as the Commentaries on Isaiah, Hosea, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk and certain of the Psalms, in addition to such books as "The Genesis Apocryphon". "The Blessings of Jacob" and "The Words of Moses", are indicative of the sect's consuming interest in every type of Biblical interpretation. Josephus does not say that the Essenes made a study of these books, but he writes:-

"They show an extraordinary interest in the writings of the ancients, selecting especially those that refer to the welfare of soul and body; hence their research for the healing of diseases into medicinal roots and the properties of stones." (38)

Philo elaborates on this statement:-

"As for philosophy, logical, subtleties they leave to verbalists as unnecessary for the acquisition of virtue, metaphysics to speculative talkers, as something beyond the reach of human nature, except for that part which deals with the existence of God and the Creation of the Universe.

.....

(37) "War", II, viii, 10

(38) "War", II, viii, 6

They make a very special study of Ethics, taking as their sources their ancestral Laws which the human soul could not possibly have conceived without divine instruction. In those Laws they receive instruction not only at other times, but especially on the seventh day. For the seventh day is held as holy; on it they abstain from all their other works, betaking themselves to sacred places, which are called synagogues. There they are seated according to their ages, the younger below the elders, with a fitting orderliness and listening attentively. Then while one takes the Books and reads, another of those who are most proficient comes forward and expounds all that is not understood. For most of their study consists of allegorical interpretations of Scripture (pursued) with an ardour like that in olden times." (39)

In a comparison of Essene and Qumran theology, there is a striking resemblance. There is the same idea of the Sovereignty of God, as reflected in the "Thanksgiving Hymn" scroll, with its attendant beliefs in Fate or Predestination. However, there is a confusion concerning the outlook of the two parties on War. The Qumran scrolls are pronouncedly war-like in outlook. The entire theology of the "Manual of Discipline" is based on a firm belief that the sect is to be thought of as the "Sons of Light", waging war against the "Sons of Darkness". Also, there is the presence of the "War Scroll" among their literature, which is the blue-print for the last, eschatological battle between themselves and these "Sons of Darkness". Yet Philo says of the Essenes:-

"Nor would you find any artificers of arrows, javelins, daggers, helmets, breast-plates, or shields among them, nor, in a word, any armourer or manufacturer of weapons, or anyone connected with war, nor for that matter any occupation connected with peace which tends towards corruption; for they have not the vaguest idea about buying or selling or of seafaring, since they reject with abhorrence such inducements to covetousness". (40)

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(39) "Every Good Man", XIII, 80-83

(40) "Every Good Man", XII, 78

Josephus is a trifle contradictory in his evidence. First he says:-

"Consequently, when they make their journey they do not carry anything at all with them, but they are armed on account of robbers". (41)

Yet further on, in the same section, part 10, he shows them up as pacifists:-

"The war against the Romans tested their souls to the utmost, in which, tortured and racked, burned and broken, and having to pass through all manners of instruments of torture, that they might blaspheme the name of their Law-giver, or eat one of the forbidden foods, they submitted to neither, nor stooped even to flattery of their tormentors or to tears. But smiling in their pains and engaging in light banter with their executioners, they gave up their souls cheerfully as those about to receive them back again." (42)

The evidence on this point must be regarded as inconclusive.

While there are so many of these resemblances between the Qumran sect, as reflected by the contents of the scrolls, and the Essenes, according to the testimonies of Philo and Josephus, there are, also certain differences. Mention should be made at this point that the Essenes are also mentioned by Hippolytus in his "Refutatio Omnium Haeresium". Its contents do not change the substance of what has been contended on previous pages, since they are very much the same as found in the works of Josephus.

The differences concern such subjects as Ritual, Worship, Marriage, Lustrations and Diet. In most cases there is silence in the scrolls, in contrast to fairly full accounts in Philo and Josephus. In most cases the evidence is sketchy and inconsistent within itself. There are really no outstanding differences which rule out any possibility of a connection between the Essenes and the Qumran sect. Such differences as there are, related by the historians, may be the result of inadequate knowledge of the Essenes' beliefs, because of the veil of secrecy surrounding them. The possibility that Philo and Josephus have fabricated some of their evidence, or at least have exaggerated or pruned it should not be dismissed too quickly or too lightly.

(41) "War", II,vii,4:.....

(42) "War", II,viii,10

They are the only external sources known, which may well be giving an outsider's view of the Qumran sect. If a proper identification of the ownership of the scrolls is to be made, a proper assessment of the evidence of Philo and Josephus must be made. It must be known whether or not they are reliable historians and antiquarians. It is to that problem we now turn.

.....

It should be borne in mind from the start that the Qumran sect was an estoric one, as indeed the Essenes also were, and that it would be virtually impossible for an outsider to gain complete information ragarding the sect's life and thought. Josephus and Philo, therefore, cannot possibly know the whole truth about the Essenes. But in addition to this primary fact, there is also widespread suspicion in the academic world as to the truthfulness of these two historians' reporting.

E. Sutcliffe comments:-

"Philo lived in Alexandria and cannot have had much personal knowledge of the Essenes. He is not known to have visited Palestine more than once. In his voluminous writings he mentions one pilgrimage to the Temples at Jerusalem, and on this occasion he can hardly have acquired the knowledge at first hand which would enable him to compose his accounts". (43)

Sutcliffe gives more credit to Josephus, though still retaining grave doubts about his reliability. As he writes:-

"It is clear, therefore, that Josephus had no inside knowledge beyond what would be communicated to a candidate before his noviceship". (44)

He then concludes:-

"In view of these considerations it is not to be expected that the account we read of the Essenes in Josephus should be in all respects exact. Then there is the consideration that the Essenes, in so far as Josephus does describe them accurately, are the Essenes of the first Christian century and there may well have been some development in the course of their history. In any case the divergencies are not sufficient to disprove the identity of the brethern at Qumran and the Essenes as against the striking similarity in fundamental points. Josephus in several places enumerates three parties or, as he calls them, philosophies among the Jews as in the passage quoted above from his autobiography. In/

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(43) op.cit.,p.125.

(44) op.cit.,p.126.

In one he even adds the Zealots. Had the followers of the Teacher of Righteousness been distinct from the Essenes, it would be strange that he should have omitted all reference to them". (45)

Matthew Black agrees with this:-

"Since both Josephus and Philo are writing for Greek readers in the Roman Empire - and both presenting a case for Judaism - some allowance must be made for idealizing tendencies and the need to accommodate Jewish thought or customs to Greek ideas and institutions. Idealization is most evident in "Quod Omnis Probus", the thesis of which, that virtue alone guarantees freedom, is based entirely on the ideal lives of the Egyptian Therapeutae. These 'contemplative Essenes' are classed with the Seven Greek Sages, the Persian Magi, and the Indian theosophists as the ideal moral philosophers. The same tendencies to idealization and accommodation to familiar Greek models appear in the work of Josephus, who compares the Essenes with the Dacian ascetics, just as the Pharisees are said to resemble the Stoics. We cannot, therefore, be certain that the Greek historians present us with an entirely reliable picture". (46)

A. Dupont-Sommer agrees in similar terms:-

"Finally it should be borne in mind that the Qumran sect, i.e. the Essene sect, was both secret and esoteric. Consequently those who spoke of it from outside cannot have known all. Also they may not have wished to say all, for various reasons. This explains why the Qumran scrolls, although in my opinion unquestionably attesting the identity of the sect with the Essenes described by Philo and Josephus, reveal certain things unmentioned by these writers; for instance, everything relating to the religious calendar, the doctrine of the two spirits, Messianic expectations, the warlike dreams of the final battle against Belial and all his fiends, and above all, the history of the august founder and legislator of the Essenes, the mysterious Teacher of Righteousness, the priestly Messiah who suffered and was put to death about 100 years before Jesus of Nazareth, and whose glorious return at the end of time was awaited by his disciples". (47)

.....

(45)

(46) op.cit., p.25

(47) op.cit., p.67

Werner Forster gives slightly more credit to Josephus:-

"Although Josephus certainly, on his own admission, experimented with the Essenes in his youth, he probably did not enter upon a novitiate with them. On the whole, however, his picture of the order is reliable and only imprecise to the extent that, in his formulations he adapted himself to the understanding of his Greek readers". (48)

G.R. Driver comments:-

"Josephus and Philo may have trimmed their accounts of the Essenes to bring out the points which they wished to emphasize; for example, Philo says nothing of their presence in the cities of Palestine, concentrating his attention on their semi-monastic mode of life. Josephus may have erred in saying that 'another order of Essenes' permitted matrimony, which runs counter to everything else which he reports of them, he may perhaps have confused them with the Covenanters. There is no need, however, to say with De Quincey that 'this tale happens also to be a lie; secondly a fraudulent lie; thirdly a malicious lie', or with M. Del Medico to consider all these accounts of them to be late interpolations in the works in which they are now found, myths 'nés de l'imagination d'un Philon, de la credulite d'un Plin et du manque de probite de copistes partiaux', which have grown into a legend. Such extreme scepticism makes nonsense of history, if no ancient authorities, consistent or inconsistent as they can be, can be utilised; and the Scrolls put the theoretical possibility of such a society beyond reasonable doubt, even if the Essenes and the Covenanters are not treated as one and the same group". (49)

From the above quotations from several leading scholars in this field of study it will be abundantly clear that it is impossible and inadvisable to take the works of Josephus and Philo as thoroughly reliable sources for information concerning the Essenes. This, coupled with the essential secrecy of the sect makes it more than a remote possibility that the picture of the Essenes presented by these writers was not strictly accurate. Josephus may well be a little more reliable than Philo, but both must have used incomplete information, and not a little of their own imagination, in the composition of their works.

(48) op.cit., p.165

(49) op.cit., p.105

That being so, can it be said that this accounts for the differences which have appeared between the Essenes and the Qumran sect? The answer to that must be 'Yes'. Differences there are between the life of the Qumran sect, as reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the Essenes, as described by Philo and Josephus, but they are not sufficient, either in quality or in quantity, to tip the balance in favour of non-identification of the two parties. Such things as Community of Goods, and, indeed, Community of Life, Sacramental Meals, Novitiate, Oathtaking and all the other similarities described earlier in this paper, make it more than likely that the Qumran sect and the Essenes are one and the same. Pliny's geographical evidence adds strength to this argument. Again, the majority of scholarly opinion is in favour of such an identification.

Matthew Black states:-

"But none of the differences is of a kind to oblige us to assume that we have to do with different groups, and the amount held in common between the Essenes of Josephus and Philo and the Qumran sect is decisive for the question of their relationship. Their common asceticism - in particular with regard to sexual matters - is something unique in Judaism.

While the study of the Qumran writings, therefore, confirms the identity of the group at Qumran with the ancient Essenes of the Greek historians, it at the same time corrects and fills out the picture, by supplying a great deal of detail, hitherto unknown". (50)

H.H. Rowley writing in an article entitled, "The Qumran Sect and Christian Origins".:-

"Yet the similarities are so great that it is more probable that they (Essenes) should be identified, and the identification is often stated categorically. The Essenes were a secret sect, whose teachings were not to be divulged outside the circle of its own members. Some knowledge of its way of life and thought must have been known outside, or it could scarcely have attracted new members. That knowledge may not have been in all respects accurate, and this could account for some of the differences between what we read in the scrolls and the accounts of first century writers. More of the differences can probably be accounted for by the fact that in the scrolls we see the sect at an earlier point in its life than that reflected in first century/ (50) op.cit., p.12.

century writers". (51)

Perhaps Millar Burrows is wiser when he writes:-

"The general conclusions that must be drawn at this stage of investigation seems to me quite clear, and I do not believe that any more specific conclusion is called for. If several related sects are included under the term Essene, the Covenanters may be called Essenes; if by Essene we mean a particular sect, which we assume to be accurately described by the ancient writers, then the Covenanters were not Essenes. For the present it seems to me best not to speak of the Qumran sect as Essenes, but rather to say that Essenes and the Covenanters, with other groups of which we know little or nothing, represented the same general type. It is more important to define the extent of agreement and difference than it is to accept or reject a particular name". (52)

Burrows was writing at a very early stage in the history of Qumran studies, in 1955, to be exact, and was reflecting the widely held views of the time, when both publication of the scrolls and excavation of Khirbet Qumran were still in their infancy. While agreeing with him that it is important to know the full extent of agreements and differences, it should be stated that unless this leads to some firm conclusion, such information is useless and pointless. Our conclusion must be that the Essenes and the Qumran sect are one and the same.

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(51) "Bulletin of the John Rylands Library", September 1961, p.122

(52) op.cit., p.294

The Dead Sea Scrolls are part of a library from the monastery at Qumran. They were probably put in the caves by the monks at the approach of the Romans in 68 A.D. They reflect the life and thought of the Essenessect, as reflected, though not accurately detailed, in the writings of Philo and Josephus.

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CHAPTER TWO

"The Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pauline Epistles"

Part 1:- PREDESTINATION IN THE SCROLLS AND PAUL

The entire corpus of the thought of the Dead Sea Scrolls is strongly marked by Predestinarian thought. In one sense this is hardly surprising, since the profound eschatological nature of the sect would inevitably involve thoughts about the Divine plan for Mankind, and, more especially, the Divine plan for the Qumran sect itself. It is part and parcel of their whole life that they are a community set apart for a special religious purpose. There is, indeed, scarcely any part of the writings where the reader is not made very definitely aware of the feeling, that the people who collected or composed these writings were consciously acting out, in minute detail, a drama which had been determined for them long ago by God. Running thread-like through the whole body of writings, there is this consciousness of a Determinism, or Fate, which is fixed and unalterable.

On closer examination of the scrolls, it will be found that there are some 26 passages in which Predestination/Election is specifically mentioned. Of these, 18 occur in the Thanksgiving Hymn Scroll (1QH); 4 in the Manual of Discipline (1QS); 3 in the Damascus or Zadokite Document (ZD); and 1 in the Commentary on Habbakuk (1QHab). These occurrences are listed in full, in a separate part of this paper. The sect's doctrine is quite explicit. God is held to be the source of everything, the Creator of both the world and Mankind. To Him belongs the supreme "design" for the Universe, and it is He who has formed the "natural" laws. The world is subject to the domination of Mankind to provide him with his basic needs. But there is an element of free will in this scheme of things.

God has created two ways, or two spirits, Truth and Falsehood. This is also expressed in terms of Light and Dark. Men are born in one or other of these parties, each according to his inheritance. God has appointed these two fates to exist in equal measure till the final age/

age, and has measured out eternal enmity between the two groups. But He has appointed a term for the existence of perversity, and when the time of scrutiny comes, He will destroy it.

.....

Then all men will be purged in the crucible of His truth, sprinkled with water, to get rid of any impurity, and Truth will emerge triumphant in all the World.

Among the Covenanters of Qumran, it is thus clear that Predestination applied only to two classes. These were the wicked, and the righteous. This serves to show the narrowness of the sect's beliefs. The general doctrine of Predestination which was current at their time, applying to all classes and conditions of men, indeed to the whole world generally, is here immediately narrowed down to this peculiar division of good and bad. It may not be so surprising that this should be so, when it is understood that the eschatological expectation of the sect was seen as a clear-cut battle between the Sons of Light and Sons of Dark. This dualism of thought coloured the sect's views on practically everything. It is therefore, not to be wondered at, that its views on Predestination are so influenced by this same kind of thought.

In this, the people of the Scrolls are continuing in the tradition of the Old Testament. The links with the Old Testament are universally agreed upon by scholars. G.R. Driver has this to say:-

"The fundamental theology of the Covenanters is indeed that of the Old Testament, and, as such, does not call for detailed description. It was based on the historic experience of the people of Israel, whom God had punished for their continuing wickedness by the Exile, and the misfortunes that followed it; but it is informed by a clearly marked predestination and a dualism, ultimately of Iranian origin, which has crept into it". (1)

G.F. Moore says:-

"God's love for Israel had its original and ground in His love for its forefathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, e.g. Deut.10,15.

On their part the character and conduct of patriarchs were peculiarly well-pleasing to God. They fulfilled and exemplified the fundamental law, 'Thou shalt love the Lord Thy God.....'

It was natural to believe that God would show special favour or indulgence to their descendants for the sake of the affection and the esteem in which they held their fathers, and for/
.....

(1) "The Judean Scrolls", p.71

for this expectation there was good warrant in the scriptures, e.g. Isaiah 41,8. " (2)

The Old Testament view of the Election of Israel presupposes a wider outlook. The nation could never have regarded itself as chosen by God, unless it had a wide view of the history of the surrounding countries. G. Von Rad states:-

"The belief that Jahweh took Israel as His own peculiar people is, of course, very, very old. But this idea of Election could not have existed in such radical form in the early period, for, as has been rightly pointed out, a thorough-going belief in Election paradoxically presupposes a universalistic view of history. It was only the Israel which had learned to look on herself from outside, and for whom her own existence among the nations had become a problem, that was in a position to talk about election (Amos 3,2) The same idea holds true, of course, for the extraordinary idea expressed in Deut.32,8 - that when Jahweh apportioned the nations according to the number of the divine beings, and thus assigned to each nation its cult, He chose Israel as His portion".(3)

The source of this election of Israel is to be found in the Covenant of Exodus 19, 3-6. Bernard Anderson says:-

"This passage represents a mature theological reflection on the meaning of Israel's special calling (election). This calling is grounded on the event of the Exodus, which manifested God's activities, in delivering Israel from Egyptian bondage. But Jahweh's initiative demanded that the people respond. It placed them in a situation of decision, summoned them to a task within the divine purpose. What Moses experienced earlier at Sinai - the call to take part in Jahweh's historical plan - was experienced by all the people at the same sacred mountain, and with far reaching implications for the future. Whether in fact these people would be the people of Yahweh depended on a condition, 'if you will obey my voice and keep my covenant.' Then they would be Yahweh's special 'possession', the community whose vocation was to order its entire life according to His sovereign demands.

(2) "Judaism", volume 1, p.536.....

(3) "Theology of the Old Testament", volume 1, p.178.

Here we find a characteristic of Israel's faith that will engage our attention later on; the strange combination of the universal and the particular. Yahweh's sovereignties know no boundaries, for "all the earth" is his. But from his many peoples he singles out one people, not for privilege but for a task. They are to be a 'kingdom of priests' - that is - a community of ministers whose calling it is to serve their Lord. In later times, prophets were to reflect deeply on Israel's role in history as 'the servant of the Lord'.(4)

Emphasis is put on the idea of the initiative of God in this process of Election. Israel has been called to this special position, not for her own material benefit, but for the benefit of God. It is through Israel that God will carry out His plans. She is to be the medium of God's Revelation of Himself. Inevitably, therefore, Israel is called not to a position of Privilege, but to a position of Responsibility. This is the same kind of feeling as was prevalent in the Qumran community. There was an intense feeling that the sect had been specially chosen by God to the responsible position of the 'Sons of Light', so that they could play the leading role in the final eschatological battle with the 'Sons of Darkness'. Bernard Anderson shows how this was a part of "normal" Jewish theology:-

Negatively this means that Israel has been separated from the nations. Therefore, she is not to intermarry with them or adopt their cultural ways, lest the gods of the nations seduce her from loyalty to Yahweh. This is put so strongly that Israel is enjoined to practice the 'cherem' - that is, to consign the inhabitants of Canaan to total destruction as a sacrifice to Yahweh (Deut.7,1-5). Holiness demands purity, so the cult must be purified and all alien elements must be removed from the covenant community.

Positively, Israel has been separated for special service to Yahweh.....Israel did not first choose; Israel was chosen (cf.Exod. 19,6). The initiative was with Yahweh. In his marvellous grace he selected this people, not because they were stronger or more numerous than others, but solely because He spontaneously set his love upon a small insignificant band of slaves in Egypt.

(4) "The Living World of the Old Testament", pp.52-53

Therefore Israel had no reason for boasting of her righteousness or superiority to other people. Election is an act of divine grace that should evoke consecrated service rather than the proud feeling of being God's favourite (Deut. 7,6-11). The conquest and the inheritance of Canaan are reviewed in the light of this conviction".(5)

H. Wheeler Robinson makes this point:-

".....the territory of the Moabites is the land of Chemosh, as that of Israel is the land of Yahweh. So far, then, as the mere form of the relation goes, there was nothing unique in the national consciousness of Israel that it was the people of Yahweh, fulfilling the purpose of its own God, as other peoples fulfilled the purpose of other gods. If there is a difference - and there must be in order to explain the history - it must be found in the content of the belief rather than its form, and the difference is likely to go back to the very beginnings of the national history. The place which the deliverance from Egypt assumed in the religious consciousness of Israel is the best and sufficient evidence for this....." (6)

It was really in later times, in the times of the prophets, that Election was seen to have redemptive significance. H. Wheeler Robinson goes on:-

"The appeal to the Exodus, which is the characteristic note of the prophets, is to an historic event in which the redemptive work of Yahweh established a new relation between Him and Israel, thereby constituting an election in which deed is more important than word - Hosea 11,1; of. 13,4. The prophets are silent as to an election of patriarchs; the appeal to nomadic history and its ever memorable issue is their form of the divine election, e.g. Jer.2,2 and 6; Deut. 32,10; Ezek.20,5f, Isaiah 43,16f. Also the historical Psalms - e.g. Ps.114,1f; 105,6.

In the course of time, and especially through the place given to the patriarchal narratives in the Pentateuch, the election of the patriarchs became the dominant view, though it could naturally include the other. But it was the 'Exodus' election which provided the most solid content for the faith of Israel in its pre-exilic and exilic periods". (7)

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(5) Op.cit., p.314-315

(6) "Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament", p.149

(7) Op.cit., p.151

From this brief review of the Old Testament doctrine of Election, it can be seen that the Qumran covenanters were in the line of orthodox thinking on this subject. They have this idea of being singled out, not only as a nation, but as a sect, to be the special servant of God. However, there are some points where there are differences from the normal doctrine. To them belongs the linking of Predestination with Dualism, a doctrine which is not found to any great extent in the Old Testament. This is of Iranian origin, as G.R. Driver is careful to point out:-

"Determinism or predestination..... is a foreign doctrine derived from Iranian theology to which the origin of the dualism of the two spirits, the good and the evil has been traced; according to this, mankind is divided into two contrasted groups, namely 'the people of truth' and 'the people of falsehood'. These two primeval spirits themselves made the original choice of their own destinies, and in the same way, each individual man was thought to make his own choice between truth and falsehood, good and evil, and each must act according to his choice throughout his life, thus at the same time determining his ultimate destiny, whether happiness and glory or damnation and annihilation.

The choice before the Covenanters was somewhat different; for this Iranian dualism had come under the influence of Jewish monotheism and the doctrine of Creation, by which it was saved from indulging in the absurd and extravagant speculations of true gnosticism.

For these people 'He (sc.God) created spirits of light and darkness', and He decided to which spirit each man should owe his allegiance before his creation, thus irrevocably fixing his ultimate fate. This doctrine of its very nature inevitably raised for a Jew the problem: how could God create good and evil and predetermine every man to the one or the other and then judge him worthy of eternal bliss or eternal punishment according to his predestined actions? This problem did not arise under the purely dualistic Iranian system; under that every individual man, like the two original spirits, was free to choose good or evil. It only arose when, like the Christian Church, the Covenanters did away with the determination of man's fate by his own free choice or the limitation/

limitation of God's power by refusing to regard Him as the cause not only of good but also of evil and accepted the divine determination arising out of the divine creation without reservation. Their conclusion was something like that reached by the Rabbis, who held that everything had been created by God, as set out in a conversation between Acher and his pupil R. Me'ir, who flourished (c.A.D.90-13), in the following words:

'The Holy One (praised be He) made a counterpart for all that He created.....: He created godly and ungodly, He created paradise and hell. Everyone has two portions, one in paradise, and one in hell: the godly man who has shown himself worthy receives his and his neighbour's portion in paradise; the ungodly man who has proved himself guilty receives his and his neighbour's portion in hell.'

All three groups, Christians, and Covenanters and Rabbis, have reached the same point; and all three leave the dilemma unresolved". (8)

While it may be too much to say that Predestination is of Iranian origin entirely, it must be agreed with Driver that the Covenanters have managed to combine the doctrine of Predestination/Election with their dualistic outlook, which undoubtedly is of Iranian origin. The quote of the Rabbinic problem serves to illustrate the point which is held by this writer, that there is a common background between "orthodox belief", the Qumran sect and the thought of the Rabbis.

It is to an examination of this Jewish background that we now must turn.

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It has already been seen in the quote from the work of G.R. Driver how the origin of both Good and Evil was attributed to God, in orthodox Judaism. G.F. Moore reinforces this when he affirms:-

"In the Bible it is affirmed, or consistently assumed, that God has taught men what is right and what is wrong, set before them the consequences of the alternatives, and left them to choose between them. So God did with Adam in the Garden; so he did with Noah for himself and his posterity of all races (Gen.9), of which Judaism made the so-called Noachian precepts a law binding on all mankind. At Sinai again, God offered the whole Law to all the seventy nations, and as a whole they refused it. A fundamental passage for the Jewish apprehension of man's relation to God's revelation is Deut.11, 26-28:

'Behold I have set before you this day a blessing and a curse; the blessing in case ye shall hearken unto the commandments of the Lord your God which I command you this day, and the curse if ye shall not hearken unto the commandments of the Lord your God, but turn aside out of the way which I command you this day etc'.

Similarly Deut.30, 15-20:-

'See, I have set before thee this day life and good, and death and evil, in that I command thee this day to love the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, to keep his commandments and his statutes and his ordinances..... I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day to love the Lord Thy God, to walk in his ways, to keep his commandments and his statutes and his ordinances..... I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day that I have set before thee life and death, the blessing and the curse; therefore choose life that you mayest live, thou and thy posterity'.

The choice is left to man; but lest Israel should say in as much as God has set before us two ways, we may go in whichever we please, the Scripture adds, 'Choose life; that thou mayest live, and thy posterity'. In the sequel is a comparison/

comparison of the two ways, one of which is at the outset a thicket of thorns but after a little distance emerges into an open plain, while the other is at first a plain, but presently runs out into thorns. So it is with the way of the righteous and the way of the wicked". (9)

This kind of teaching was brought to its fullest expression in the works of the Rabbis. To quote Moore again:-

"That man is capable of choosing between right and wrong and of carrying the decision into action was not questioned, nor was any conflict discovered between this freedom of choice with its consequences and the belief that all things are ordained and brought to pass by God in accordance with his wisdom and his righteous and benevolent will. The theological problem of the freedom of the will in relation to the doctrine of divine providence and the omniscience of God did not emerge until the tenth century, when Jewish thinkers like Saadia (d.942) heard around them on every hand the Moslem controversies over predestination. Long before any theologizing on this point, it had been necessary to assert emphatically the responsibility of man for what he does and is, against such as were inclined to put off on God the responsibility for their misdeeds, just as it was necessary to affirm the doctrine of retribution against those who thought that God let things in the world go their own gait and that there was no such thing as a moral providence.

Thus Sirach: 'Say not, it was the Lord's fault that I fell away....say not, He led me astray.... He made man from the beginning and left him to his own counsel. If thou wilt thou wilt keep the commandments, and to deal faithfully is a matter of choice. He has set before Thee fire and water, thou canst stretch out thy hand to which ever thou wilt. Before man are life and death, and whichever he chooses will be given him'. The same freedom is asserted in the Psalms of Solomon (9,4): 'Our deeds are in the choice and power of our soul, to do righteousness and iniquity in the works of our hands'.

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The author of Fourth Esdras, agonizing over the problem how the perdition of the mass of mankind, Gentile and Jew, can consist with the character of God, does not impugn God's justice in condemning them. 'Ask no more about the multitude of those who perish', the angel answers, 'for they themselves, having freedom given them, spurned the Most High, and despised his law and abandoned his ways'.

The rabbinical teaching is in complete accord with this, as appears in the passage from Sifre Deut.53-4 cited above. The sententious words of Akiba are familiar:

'everything is foreseen by God and freedom of choice is given (to man) and the world is judged with goodness., and all depends on the preponderance of (good or ill) doing'.

Simeon ben 'Azzai, Akiba's younger contemporary quotes the phrase, 'freedom of choice is given' in a context which attaches decisive importance to man's primary choice to attend to the words of God or not. If a man of his own accord resolves to hearken (to the command of God), he will be helped to do so without his endeavour; if to forget (ignore) them, he will be made to do so when he dies not wish to. 'Freedom of choice is given' - as in Proverbs 3,34, 'If it is with the scorers, He scorers them, but unto the humble He gives favour'. Others preferred for a proof text Exod,22,25". (10)

Obviously the doctrine of Predestination was to be found in many places in Orthodox and Rabbinical Judaism.

As regards sectarian Judaism, not so much is clear. Sources for this aspect consist largely of the accounts of the sects given by the Jewish writer Josephus, either in his "Antiquities of the Jews", or "The Jewish War", Moore gives a good resume of his accounts:-

"From Josephus.....we should get the impression that determinism was one of the subjects chiefly in dispute between the Pharisees and the other sects. In one place indeed, this is the only specific difference he mentions, (Antiq. xiii.5,9), referring the reader for the rest to the fuller account in the second book of the Jewish War. As he describes it in the passage cited they were divided over destiny (ἐξαναγκασμός): the Essenes exempted nothing

.....

from its sway; the Sadducees denied that there was any such thing; while the Pharisees held the middle ground - some things, but not all, are the work of destiny; some are in man's own power to determine whether they shall come to pass or not.

In the account in the War (ii,8,14), to which Josephus refers he says that the Pharisees ascribe everything to destiny and to God; to do right or not lies principally in man's power, but destiny also is auxiliary in every action. An explanation of this is intended in Antiq.xviii 1,3: while the Pharisees held that all things are brought about by destiny, they do not deprive the human will of its own impulse to do them, it having pleased God that there should be a concurrence (?), and that to the deliberation of destiny that of men, in the case of one who wills, should assent, with (the concomitant of) virtue or wickedness. The Sadducees deny destiny altogether, and make God incapable of doing or looking (with complacency) upon anything evil. They say that good and evil lie open to men's choice, and that according to each man's own inclination he takes to one or the other.

It suited the author to describe the Jewish sects as so many philosophies. He remarks that the Essenes follow the Pythagorean mode of life; and the Pharisees are very much like the Stoics. Different notions about the immortality of the soul divided Greek schools of philosophy also; the problem of determinism was a subject of acute controversy among them in his time, and if the issue were to be defined in a word it would be *ἁπόρρονη*, 'destiny', which in Josephus occur in all the descriptions of the Jewish sects. It seems to be generally assumed that what Josephus means is that the sects were divided over the relation of divine providence to human freedom, and that he used *ἁπόρρονη* for what we might call the decrees of God. It is certain, however, that no contemporary reader could have understood him in any such sense, since not only was that not the current conception of *ἁπόρρονη* but he himself expressly makes 'destiny' a determining factor distinct from God, even though subordinate to him". (11)

Thus it can be seen, that Predestination, or Election was one of the principle doctrines of Judaism, both orthodox and

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(11) Op.Cit., Vol. 1, p.456 and 457.

sectarian. The Qumran people stood in direct line with most of their brethern in ascribing it to God, but also recognising a certain amount of free choice on the part of man. It was this doctrine which Paul was to give much time and thought to; and it is to his thoughts on the subject we now turn.

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Occurrences of Predestination/Election in the Scrolls

The Manual of Discipline (1QS)

Chapter III - IV

"From the God of Knowledge comes all that is and shall be. Before ever they existed He established their whole design, and when, as ordained for them, they come into being, it is in accord with His glorious design that they fulfil their work. The laws of all things are unchanging in His hand and He provides them with all their needs.

He has created man to govern the world, and has appointed for him two spirits in which to walk until the time of His visitation; the spirits of truth and falsehood. Those born of truth spring from a fountain of light, but those born of falsehood spring from a source of darkness. All the children of righteousness are ruled by the Prince of Light and walk in the ways of light; but all the children of falsehood are ruled by the Angel of Darkness and walk in the ways of darkness.

The Angel of Darkness leads all the children of righteousness astray, and until his end, all their sin, iniquities, wickedness, and all their unlawful deeds are caused by his dominion in accordance with the mysteries of God. Every one of their chastisements, and every one of the seasons of their distress, shall be brought about by the rule of his persecution; for all his allotted spirits seek the overthrow of the sons of light.

But the God of Israel and His Angel of Truth will succour all the sons of light. For it is He who created the spirits of Light and Darkness and founded every action upon them and established every deed (upon) their (ways). And loves the one IV. everlastingly and delights in its works for ever; but the counsel of /

of the other He loathes and forever hates its ways".

Chapter IV.

"The nature of all the children of men is ruled by these (two spirits), and during their life all the hosts of men have a portion in their divisions and walk in (both) their ways. And the whole reward for their deeds shall be, for everlasting ages, according to whether each man's portion of their two divisions is great or small. For God has established the spirits in equal measure until the final age, and has set everlasting hatred between their divisions. Truth abhors the works of falsehood, and falsehood hates all the ways of truth. And their struggle is fierce for they do not walk together. But in the mysteries of His understanding, and in His glorious wisdom, God has ordained an end for falsehood, and at the time of the visitation He will destroy it forever. Then truth, which has wallowed in the ways of wickedness during the dominion of falsehood until the appointed time of judgement, shall arise in the world for ever. God will then purify every deed of Man with His truth; He will refine for Himself the human frame by rooting out all spirit of falsehood from the bounds of his flesh. He will cleanse him of all wicked deeds with the spirit of holiness like purifying waters He will shed upon him the spirit of truth (to cleanse him) of all abomination and falsehood. And he shall be plunged into the spirit of purification that he may instruct the upright in the knowledge of the Most High and teach the wisdom of the sons of heaven to the perfect of way. For God has chosen them for an everlasting Covenant and all the glory of Adam shall be theirs. There shall be no more lies and all the works of falsehood shall be put to shame.

Until now the spirits of truth and falsehood struggle in the hearts of men and they walk in both wisdom and folly. According to his portion of truth so does a man hate falsehood, and according to his inheritance in the realm of falsehood so is he wicked and so hates truth. For God has established the two spirits in equal measure until the determined end, and until the Renewal, and he knows the reward of their deeds from all eternity. He has allotted them to the children of men that they may know good (and evil, and) that/

that the destiny of all the living may be according to the spirit within (them at the time) of the visitation".

Chapter X

"At the beginning of the months of the (yearly) seasons and on the holy days appointed for remembrance,

in their seasons I will bless Him
with the offering of the lips
according to the Precept engraved for ever:
at the beginning of the years
and at the end of their seasons
when their appointed law is fulfilled,
on the day decreed by Him
that they should pass from one to the other
the season of early harvest to the summer time,
the season of sowing to the season of grass,
the season of years to their weeks (of years)
and at the beginning of their weeks
for the season of Jubilee.
All my life the engraved Precept shall be on my tongue
as the fruit of praise
and the portion of my lips".

Chapter XI

"Blessed art Thou, my God,
who openest the heart of thy servant to knowledge!
Establish all his deeds in righteousness,
and as it pleases Thee to do for the elect of Mankind,
grant that the son of Thy handmaid
may stand before Thee for ever.
For without Thee no way is perfect,
and without Thy will nothing is done.
It is Thou who hast taught all knowledge
and all things come to pass by Thy Will.
There is none beside Thee to dispute Thy counsel
or/

or to understand all Thy holy design,
or to contemplate the depths of Thy mysteries
and the power of Thy might".

The Damascus Rule (ZD)

Chapter II

"God loves knowledge. Wisdom and understanding He has set before Him, and prudence and knowledge serve Him. Patience and much forgiveness are with Him towards those who turn from transgression; but power, might, and great flaming wrath by the hand of all the angels of Destruction towards those who depart from the way and abhor the Precept. They shall have no remnant or survivor. For from the beginning God chose them not; He knew their deeds before ever they were created and He hated their generations, and He hid His face from the Land until they were consumed. For He knew the years of their coming and the length and exact duration of their times for all ages to come and throughout eternity. He knew the happenings of their times throughout all the everlasting years. And in all of them He raised for Himself men called by name, that a remnant might be left to the Land, and that the face of the earth might be filled with their seed. And He made known the Holy Spirit to them by the hand of His anointed ones, and He proclaimed the truth (to them). But those whom He hated He led astray".

Chapter III & IV

".....Those who hold fast to it are destined to live for ever and all the glory of Adam shall be theirs. As God ordained for them by the hand of the prophet Ezekiel, saying, 'The Priests, the Levites, and the sons (IV) of Zadok who kept the charge of my sanctuary when the children of Israel strayed from me, they shall offer me fat and blood (Ezekiel xliv,15).

The Priests are the converts of Israel who departed from the land of Judah, and (the Levites are) those who joined them. The Sons of Zadok are the elect of Israel, the men called by name who shall/

shall stand at the end of days....."

Chapter VII

".....They shall keep apart from every uncleanness according to the statutes relating to each one, and no man shall defile his holy spirit since God has set them apart. For all who walk in these precepts in perfect holiness, according to all the teaching of God, the Covenant of God shall be an assurance that they shall live for thousands of generations....."

The Hymn Scroll (1QH)

Hymn 1, lines 3 - 13

"By Thy wisdom (all things exist from) eternity,
and before creating them Thou knewest their works for
ever and ever.

(Nothing) is done (without Thee)
and nothing is known unless Thou desire it.

Thou hast created all the spirits
(and hast established a statute) and law
for all their works.

Thou hast spread the heavens for Thy glory
and hast (appointed) all (their hosts)
according to Thy will;"

Lines 24-29

"Thou hast created the earth by Thy power and
by seas and the deeps (by Thy might).

Thou hast fashioned (all) their (inhabitants)
according to Thy wisdom,
and hast appointed all that is in them
according to Thy will."

Lines 35-48/

Lines 35-48

"Thou hast allotted to them tasks
during all their generations,
and judgment in their appointed seasons
according to the rule (of the spirits).
For Thou hast established their ways)
for ever and ever,
(and hast ordained from eternity)
Their visitation for reward and chastisements;
Thou hast allotted it to all their seed
for eternal generations and everlasting years.....
In the wisdom of Thy knowledge
Thou didst establish their destiny before ever they were,
All things (exist) according to (Thy will)
and without Thee nothing is done".

Lines 62-70

"What can I say that is not foreknown,
and what can I utter that is not foretold?
All things are graven before Thee
on a written Reminder
for everlasting ages,
and for the numbered cycles
of the eternal years
in all their seasons;
they are not hidden or absent from Thee".

Hymn II

Lines 21-25

"But to the elect of righteousness
Thou hast made me a banner,
and a discerning interpreter of wonderful mysteries,
to try (those who practise) truth
and to test those who love correction".

Hymn III

Lines 67-70

"Thou hast allotted to man an everlasting destiny
amidst the spirits of knowledge,
that he may praise Thy Name in a common rejoicing
and recount Thy marvels before all Thy works".

Lines 122-127

"I thank Thee, O Lord,
for Thou art as a fortified wall to me,
and as an iron bar against all destroyers,
.....
Thou hast set my feet upon rock.....
that I may walk in the way of eternity
and in the paths which Thou has chosen".

Hymn IV

Lines 26-30

"But Thou, O God,
dost despise all Satan's designs;
it is thy purpose that shall be done
and the design of Thy heart
that shall be established for ever".

Lines 80-90

"Thou wilt cause their law to endure for ever
and truth to go forward unhindered,
and Thou wilt not allow them to be led astray
by the hand of the damned
when they plot against them.
Thou wilt put the fear of them into Thy people
and(wilt make of them)a hammer
to all the peoples of the lands,
that/

that at the judgement they may cut off
all those who transgress Thy word."

Hymn V

Lines 13-18

"Thou hast caused me to dwell with the many fishers
who spread a net upon the face of the waters,
and with the hunters of the children of iniquity;
Thou hast established me there for justice.
Thou hast confirmed the counsel of truth in my heart
and the waters of the Covenant for those who seek it".

Hymn VII

Lines 39-47

"For Thou knowest the whole intent of a creature,
Thou discernest every reply,
and Thou hast established my heart
(on) Thy teaching and truth,
directing my steps into the paths of righteousness
that I may walk before Thee.
in the land (of the living),
into paths of glory and (infinite) peace
which shall (never) end".

Lines 101-105

"For Thou art an eternal God;
all Thy ways are determined for ever (and ever)
and there is none other beside Thee.
and what is a man of Naught and Vanity
that he should understand Thy marvellous mighty deeds?"

Hymn IX

Lines 79-103/

Hymn IX

Lines 79-103

"For Thou hast known me from (the time) of my father,
(and hast chosen me) from the womb.
(from the belly of) my mother
Thou hast dealt kindly with me,
and from the breast of her who conceived me
have Thy mercies been with me,
(Thy grace was with me) in the lap of her who reared me,
and from my youth Thou hast illumined me
with the wisdom of Thy judgement.
Thou hast upheld me with certain truth;
Thou hast delighted me with Thy Holy Spirit
and (hast opened my heart) till this day.
Thy just rebuke accompanies my (faults)
and Thy safeguarding peace delivers my soul.
The abundance of (Thy) forgiveness is with my steps
and infinite mercy accompanies Thy judgement of me.
Until I am Old Thou wilt care for me:
for my father knew me not
and my mother abandoned me to Thee
For Thou art a Father
to all (the sons) of Thy truth,
and as a woman who tenderly loves her babe,
so dost Thou rejoice in them;
and as a foster-father bearing a child in his lap,
so carest Thou for all Thy creatures".

Hymn X

Lines 52-65

"For Thou Thyself hast shaped (my spirit)
and established me (according to Thy will);
and Thou hast not placed my support in gain
(nor does) my (heart delight in riches);
Thou/

Thou hast given me no fleshly refuge.
The might of warriors (rests) on abundant delights,
(and on plenty of corn) and wine and oil;
they pride themselves in possessions and wealth.
(But the righteous is like a) green (tree)
beside streams of water,
bringing forth leaves and multiplying its branches;
for (Thou hast chosen them
from among the children of) men
that they may all grow fat from the land".

HYMN XII

Lines 16-26

"at the genesis of every period
and at the beginning of every age
and at the end of every season,
according to the statute and signs
appointed to every dominion
by certain law from the mouth of God,
by the precept which is and shall be
for ever and ever without end.
Without it nothing is nor shall be,
for the God of knowledge established it
and there is none other beside Him".

Hymn XIII

Lines 1 - 10

"All these things (Thou didst establish in Thy wisdom.
Thou didst appoint) all Thy works
before ever creating them:
the host of Thy spirits
and the Congregation (of Thy Holy Ones,
the heavens and all) their hosts
and the earth and all it brings forth.
In the seas and deeps.....
...../

.....and an everlasting task;
for Thou hast established them from before eternity".

Hymn XV

Lines 11-14

"I know that the inclination of every spirit
(is in Thy hand);
Thou didst establish (all) its (ways) before ever creating it;
and how can any man change Thy words?"

Hymn XVII

Lines 33-38

"For I have understood that (it is Thou
who dost establish) the paths of whomsoever Thou choosest;
Thou dost hedge him in with (true) discernment
that he may not sin against Thee,
and that his humility (may bear fruit)
through Thy chastisement".

Commentary on Habakkuk (1QHab)

Chapter VII

"If it tarries, wait for it, for it shall surely
come and shall not be late".

Interpreted, this concerns the men of truth who keep the
Law, whose hands shall not slacken in the service of truth when
the final age is prolonged. For all the ages of God reach their
appointed end as He determines for them in the mysteries of His
wisdom".

Predestination in the Pauline Epistles

Predestination in Paul is primarily to the service of God. There is little idea of being elected to a special privilege by God. There is the idea that it is the happy lot of Israel to have been chosen to be the special servants of God.

D.E. Whitely writes:-

"Again for St. Paul Predestination was normally predestination for service, not predestination to salvation". (12)

Such a view is endorsed by J.S. Stewart:-

"We shall never understand this doctrine as it appears in the epistles until we realise that it runs back to the personal experience of a man who, by the fact of his conversion, discovered himself to be elected by God, marked out by divine decree for service and ambassadorship....." (13)

It is also worthwhile noting this comment by H. St.J. Thackeray

"The Old Testament doctrine had degenerated into a belief that no Israelite could go into Gehenna, that the mere fact of descent from Abraham ensured the ultimate salvation of the individual, and that God was bound over as it were by a covenant over which He had no control to the people of Israel to the exclusion of the 'people of the earth'. St. Paul, who in his Pharisaic days had held the belief in the election of his nation as one of his most cherished convictions, in the ninth chapter of Romans (vv.6-13), replaces this narrower conception by a much wider one. He finds, looking back over the world's history, that there had from the first been a process of selection in God's dealings with men. This process was seen at work in the chosen race itself. Isaac and Jacob were chosen, Ishmael and Esau were rejected. The election did not consist in the appointment of a special race to special privileges, but in the selection of certain individuals to special responsibilities. The reason for this selection in each case was beyond man's understanding, being hidden in the inscrutable counsels of God. The broader conception of election is summed up by St. Paul in a single illuminating phrase, ἡ κατ' ἐκλογὴν προθεσίς τοῦ Θεοῦ, the purpose of (12) "The Theology of St. Paul", p.91 (13) "A Man in Christ". p.143

God which has worked on the principle of selection (Rom.9,1)"(14)

All this thought stems from Paul's conversion experience on the Damascus Road. H.J. Schoeps states:-

"The fact is that Paul sees all earthly happenings as cohering with the continuity of a concrete divine plan of action. His historical understanding is never influenced by the Greek metaphysic of being, but derives always from the historical outlook characteristic of Israel. History is for him the unfolding of the divine counsel. From Adam (the author of world history) and from Abraham (the author of Jewish sacred history) all the lines of development point towards the Messiah, and since the hour of Damascus towards Jesus Christ". (15)

However, this doctrine of predestination also brings an Assurance to Paul. The "security" of the Christian is seen to be based on the eternal purpose of God. Christians have nothing at all to fear, since their hope is founded on divine predestination. Taking Ephesians Chapter One as an example, it can be seen how this doctrine is applied to the doctrine of the Church. The Church is securely based on the power of God. The question is not raised who is at the last to be a member of the Church and who is not. God's hidden purpose was that the universe should be brought into unity with Christ (Eph.1,10). In all this we may be justified in seeing below the surface that "Israel" equals "Church". But it does not raise the thorny question of who is or who is not an Israelite. Born Israelites could be guilty of apostasy, and Gentiles could be converted. The hope of the Church is firmly based on the will of God.

This leads on to the problem of Israel's rejection of the gospel. If Jesus was the Messiah, why had God allowed his own people to miss the promised salvation? In Romans 9-11 Paul seeks to answer this in terms of predestination.

While Paul is always true to his Jewish upbringing, he is, at the same time, concerned with this plight of the Jews. He could even go so far as to pray to be an outcast from Christ himself for their sake (9,3). Their failure to respond to the Gospel does not mean that the Work of God has proved false.

{14}
{15} "The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought",
"Paul", p.231 Note B., p.249

Romans, 9,7, shows that God knew and had foretold in Scripture (Gen. 21,12) the fact that some of his people would prove false.

Paul ventured along the path of asserting that God predestines some to sin in order to show His mercy on others. He does not in this section consider the ultimate fate of those who are predestined to sin; he is concerned with the past sin of Pharaoh and the present sin of Israel, not with the future fate of either. Predestination to damnation as opposed to predestination to sin can be read into the present passage, but not out of it.

A suggestion of Universal Salvation is not entirely absent from Paul's thinking on Predestination. Some human beings, Jews and Gentiles alike, will be lost if they refuse God's offer. It is not said that they will, in fact, refuse it. Paul does not foretell apostasy by the members of the congregation at Rome. In fact, he firmly warns them against it. Universal salvation, according to Paul, is not ruled out, but it is certainly not inevitable. D.E. Whitely says:-

".....St. Paul does not teach universal salvation, although he sets out along paths which lead in that direction. Neither does he teach that any are predestined to damnation: when he finds that the natural logic of his thought would compel him to adopt that conclusion, he ceases to follow it. In St. Paul's thought, predestination is connected with the tendency towards universal salvation. Damnation, whatever form it may take, is due not to predestination by God, but to wilful sin on the part of man himself". (16)

Something of this is found in two instances in W.D.Davies's thought:-

"We saw that the prophets had interpreted the exodus from Egypt as leading to a covenant whereby a heterogeneous group of tribes had become the people of Yahweh; they had become one people and they had one God.....

However widely the Jews came to be dispersed their awareness of their essential oneness remained; it was not their loyalty to a common land of which they were perforce deprived, not the cement of a common language that sustained this, awareness, but their

sense of being the One people of the One God. Throughout the later prophets and in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha the theme recurs that all Israel must again be gathered from the four corners of the earth; its divisions must be healed: the Lord is to be One and His people One. The evidence for this is abundant". (17)

Also note:-

"Doubtless Paul, like Jeremiah,.....felt that there was something unnatural in shedding the religious traditions of his nation, but it was not merely what we should call nationalism or patriotism that led Paul to seek throughout his life to conciliate and convert the Jews first; it was the whole religious impetus of Judaism; his emotional reaction to the exclusion of the greater part of the Old Israel after the flesh from the New Israel after the Spirit only becomes fully intelligible in the light of the expectation of a restored and united people and a passionate belief in an eternal bond uniting the Old Israel and her God, together with a sense of national solidarity that is possibly, in its intensity, unique in world history, and these three elements as we saw could call to their aid the genius and warmth of Semitic religion. That the Apostle did agonize over Jewry and lived and died a Pharisee shows how near to the heart of 1st century Judaism he must have been; it certainly gives the lie to any attempt at minimising his essential Jewishness". (18)

It is surely this peculiarly Jewish sense of Oneness with one another and with God, that Paul translates into terms of Christian Redemption, by hinting at Universal Salvation.

H.J. Schoeps agrees with this general line of thought:-

.....

(17) "Paul and Rabbinic Judaism", p.80

(18) Op.cit., p.85

"To judge by what our sources and traditions teach us, the century of Jesus and Paul, was the century of Jewish history which fostered a universalistic hope without parallel in any century before or since. For Messianic expectation of the time was not confined to Israel. The salvation of the peoples..... was equally the concern of the Tannaites. Whole Rabbinic circles were opposed to the particularism of Ezra and insisted that the gates of the law should be opened wide so that the nations of the earth might enter. Isaiah 26,2 was a great source of inspiration for mission to heathen". (19)

It is clear that in this part of his thought, Paul is drawing heavily on his knowledge of the Old Testament and Intertestamental literature. Schoeps again comments:-

"These typological patterns, which are central to his whole picture of history reveal plainly that Paul read the Old Testament not simply as historical or doctrinal literature, but as it were with prophetic eyes, in order to extract from it its hidden typological content and suggestions of saving history. Thus the great figures and moments in the Old Testament became for him ~~typical~~ foreshadowing the events of the last age. But in contrast with Philo, who reinterpreted historical events as symbolising processes in the human soul, Paul's typological exegesis remains firmly oriented towards ~~τὰ ἱστορικά~~ ^{ἡ ἀποκάλυψις}. It may be that the picture of history conveyed by apocalyptic had even greater significance for him than that of the Old Testament. Qumran obviously offers the closest parallels to this kind of historical thinking". (20)

H. St. J. Thackeray gives a list of similarities between the thought of Ephesians and Colossians and the Similitudes of Enoch. It is as follows:-

1./

.....

(19) Op.cit., p.220

(20) Op.cit., p.233

1. Connection in both between the calling of the Elect One and of the Elect Ones in the eternal purpose of God before the world was. Eph.1,4-6. Enoch 48, 6-7. 62,7.
2. This election took place "according to the good pleasure" of God. Eph.1, vv.5,9,11; Enoch 37,4; 39,9; 49,4.
3. "The lot" or "portion" to which the elect are predestined is another idea common to the two writers. Eph. 1,vv.11, 14. Col. 1,12; Enoch 37,4; 39,8; 46,3; 58.
4. Son of Man or Elect One is portrayed in Enoch as the Revealer of all secrets. 46,3. Cf. Col.2,3.

The juxtaposition of the same ideas and phrases seem to indicate a dependence of the Apostle upon some older Jewish conceptions, if not actual acquaintance with the Similitudes of the Book of Enoch.

Thackeray also point out a number of similarities between Paul in his doctrine of Predestination, and the Book of Wisdom. (21)

Wisdom X-XIX resembles Romans 9, 14ff, in being a sort of philosophy of history, in which is set forth the influence of wisdom on the world, and a contrast is drawn between the fate of the Israelites and of the Egyptians. Similarly Paul takes Moses and Pharaoh as the typical instances of the exhibition of the supreme sovereignty of God (Rom. 9, 14-18).

Parallels are:-

1. God's power is irresistible. Rom.9,19. Wisdom 12,12. Wisdom probably borrowing from Old Testament direct, esp. from Isaiah.
2. God's power tempered by mercy. Rom.9,22-23. Wisdom 12,17-20.

Both draw a contrast between his dealings with his enemies ("vessels of wrath fitted for destruction", due to death") and with his children ("the vessels of mercy").

3. The Metaphor of the Potter. Rom. 9, 20-21. Wisdom 15,7.V.20 certainly based on Isaiah 45, 8-10. But v.21 which expresses the potter's freedom to make some vessels to honour and some to dishonour finds its nearest parallel in a passage from Wisdom, which, it is true, occurs in another context (the folly of idolatry).

It is clear from the foregoing that the doctrine of Predestination in the Pauline Epistles sees Paul at his most Jewish. He follows in the line of the Old Testament, especially of the prophetical books, in his concept of Predestination as to Service of God, to Responsibility as against Privilege. His hints at a doctrine of Universal Salvation, which while not sufficient in number or depth to warrant a decisive or definite doctrine, are yet sufficient to show how far Paul was in line with contemporary Jewish thought. He is coming very close to the thought of Qumran in his linking of Predestination with Eschatology in a redemptive context. All in all, the atmosphere in his thought in regard to this subject is remarkably like that of Qumran.

A list of "occurrences" of Predestination in the corpus of the Pauline Epistles is given in the pages following.

.....

Occurrences of Predestination/Election in the Pauline Epistles

Romans.

- 1,1 :- "Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, set apart for the gospel of God....."
- 2,6 :- "For he will render to every man according to his works:"
- 8,17:- "...and if children, then heirs, heirs of God and fellow heirs with Christ, provided we suffer with him in order that we may also be glorified with him".
- 8,28-31:- "We know that in everything God works for good with those who love him, who are called according to his purpose. For those whom he foreknew he also predestined to be conformed to the image of His Son, in order that He might be the first born among many brethren. And those whom he predestined he also called; and those whom he called he also justified; and those whom he justified he also glorified".

Most of the contents of Chapters 9-11 are largely relevant.

- 14,4 :- "Who are you to pass judgement on the servant of another? It is before his own master that he stands or falls. And he will be upheld, for the master is able to make him stand".

1 Corinthians

- 1,1 :- "Paul, called by the will of God to be an apostle of Christ Jesus, and our brother Sosthenes".
- 1,9 :- "God is faithful, by whom you were called into the fellowship of his son, Jesus Christ our Lord".
- 3,12-15:- "Now if any one builds on the foundation with gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble - each man's work will become manifest; for the Day will disclose it, because it will be revealed with fire, and the fire will test what sort of work each one has done. If the work which any man has built on the foundation survives, he will receive a reward. If any man's work is burned up, he will suffer loss, though/

though he himself will be saved, but only as through fire".

- 10,13 :- "No temptation has overtaken you that is not common to man. God is faithful, and will not let you be tempted beyond your strength, but with the temptation will also provide the way of escape, that you may be able to endure it".

2nd Corinthians

- 1,9 :- "Why, we felt that we had received the sentence of death; but that was to make us rely not on ourselves but on God who raised the dead; he delivered us from so deadly a peril, and he will deliver us; on him we have set our hope that he will deliver us again".
- 4,10 :- "Always carrying in the body the death of Jesus, so that the life of Jesus may also be manifested in our bodies".
- 5,21 :- "For our sake, he made him to be sin, who knew no sin, so that in him we might become the righteousness of God".
- 6,14 :- "Do not be mismatched with unbelievers. For what partnership have righteousness and iniquity? Or what fellowship has light with darkness?"
(N.B. Dualism very strong in this verse).

Galations

- 1,15-16:- "But when he who had set me apart before I was born and had called me through his grace, was pleased to reveal his son to me, in order that I might preach among the Gentiles, I did not confer with flesh and blood....."
- 3,26-29:- "For in Christ Jesus you are all sons of God through faith. For as many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus. And if you are Christ's, then you are/

are Abraham's offspring, heirs according to promise".

4,28 :- "Now we, brethren, like Isaac, are children of promise".

6,14-17:- "But far be it from me to glory except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world. For neither circumcision counts for anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creation. Peace and mercy be upon all who walk by this rule, upon the Israel of God.

Henceforth, let no man trouble me; for I bear on my body the marks of Jesus."

Ephesians

1,4 :- "Even as he chose us in him before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and blameless before him. He destined us in love to be his sons through Jesus Christ, according to the purpose of his will...."

1,9 :- "For he had made known to us in all wisdom and insight the mystery of his will, according to his purpose which he set forth in Christ as a plan for the fullness of time, to unite all things in him, things in heaven and things on earth".

1,11-14:- "In him, according to the purpose of him who accomplishes all things according to the counsel of his will, we who first hoped in Christ have been destined and appointed to live for the praise of his glory. In him you also, who have heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation, and have believed in him, were sealed with the promised Holy Spirit, which is the guarantee of our inheritance until we acquire possession of it, to the praise of his glory".

2,10 :- "For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus for good works, which God prepared beforehand, that we should walk in them".

4,7 :- "But grace was given to each of us according to the measure of Christ's gift".

Philippians

Philippians

2,12-18 :- "Therefore, my beloved, as you have always obeyed, so now, not only as in my presence but much more in my absence, work out your own salvation in fear and trembling; for God is at work in you, both to will and to work for his good pleasure".

Colossians

1,12 :- "Giving thanks to the father, who has qualified us to share in the inheritance of the saints in light. He has delivered us from the dominion of darkness and transferred us to the kingdom of his beloved Son, in whom we have redemption, the forgiveness of sins".

3,12 :- "Put on, then, as God's chosen ones....."

1 Thessalonians

2,12 :- "To lead a life worthy of God, who calls you into his own kingdom and glory.

5,24 :- "He who calls you is faithful, and he will do it".

2 Thessalonians

1,9 :- "They shall suffer the punishment of eternal destruction and exclusion from the presence of the Lord and from the glory of his might".

2,11-12:- "Therefore God sends upon them a strong delusion, to make them believe what is false, so that all may be condemned who did not believe the truth but had pleasure in unrighteousness".

1 Timothy

1,1 :- "Paul an apostle of Christ Jesus by command of God our Saviour and of Christ Jesus, our hope".

2,4 :- ".....who desire all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth".

2 Timothy

1,1 :- "Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus, by the will of God according to the promise of life which is in Christ Jesus".

4,18 :- "The Lord will rescue me from every evil and save me for his heavenly kingdom. To him be glory for ever and ever. Amen".

SUMMING AND CONCLUSION

Looking at all the available material, certain similarities and certain differences can be seen in the treatment of the doctrine of Predestination by Paul and by the people of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Both agree on the basic idea of "Chosen-ness". The Qumran people see themselves as chosen to play a special part in an eschatological drama. Paul sees himself and the Christian community in much the same light, as a race set apart to perform some special service on God's behalf. Service of God is a common link.

Both are in agreement with the part played by God in this process. Both ascribe and recognise the initiative to God. It is God who chooses man, and not vice versa. In other words, it reflects a particular view of history, which sees the participation of God in human history as a very real thing. It means that they see God as initiating a redemptive process among men in the formation of a special chosen community of faith, bound to him by an Old and later a New Covenant. Both see Predestination in terms of the Grace of God.

There are differences, too, but not on so large a scale as to detract very much from the essential similarity. Paul's ideas on the doctrine show a larger, wider vision of the work of God; while the Scrolls are very definite in the exclusiveness of the people to whom this doctrine applies.

Then ~~again, for~~ Paul the medium of this doctrine is always through the personal figure of Christ; while there is no such treatment of a comparable figure; e.g. the Teacher of Righteousness, in the Scrolls.

Two quotations bring the problem into clearer light. The first is from the writings of G.F. Moore:-

"It should be remarked, further, that a 'lot in the World to Come', which is the nearest approximation in rabbinical Judaism to the Pauline and Christian idea of salvation, or eternal life, is ultimately assured to every Israelite on the ground of the/

the original election of the people by the free grace of God, prompted not by its merits, collective or individual, but solely by God's love, a love that began with the Fathers. For this national election Paul and the Church substituted an individual election to eternal life, without regard to race or station.

A lot in the 'world to come' is not wages earned by works, but is bestowed by God in pure goodness upon the members of his chosen people, as 'eternal life' in Christianity is bestowed on the individuals whom he has chosen, or on the members of the Church. If the one is grace, so is the other". (22)

Here the idea of Predestination as Grace is highlighted.

The second quotation is from G.R. Driver:-

"That he (Paul) borrowed these ideas from the Covenanters is no necessary inference, just as there is no need to suppose that they have borrowed anything from him; the doctrine here adumbrated can already be traced in pre-Christian Judaism, and both may be drawing on common sources or taking up contemporary speculation. The Covenanter's means of Grace, however, are not those of Paul, who looks to faith in Christ; the Rightful Teacher had done no redemptive work such as Christ had done". (23)

Here, Christ is all the difference.

The most that can be said is that both Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls show a strong similarity of thought in regard to the content and treatment of the doctrine of Predestination.

Since it has been shown that Paul was drawing very heavily on his Jewish background, especially on the books of the Old Testament and the Intertestamental literature, the conclusion can only be that both parties were sharing a common heritage of thought. Both were brought up in the same basic tradition. The Qumran people preferred to keep a more exclusive view than Paul who applied this narrow Jewish doctrine to the all-embracing salvation of God, as seen in the person of Christ.

.....

(22) "Judaism", Vol.2, p.94

(23) Op.cit., p.581

Part II:- JUSTIFICATION IN THE SCROLLS AND PAUL

Examples of Justification in the Dead Sea Scrolls

The Manual of Discipline (1QS)

Section III

".....He shall not be justified by that which his stubborn heart declares lawful, for seeking the ways of light he looks towards darkness. He shall not be reckoned among the perfect; he shall neither be purified by atonement, nor cleansed by purifying waters, nor sanctified by seas and rivers, nor washed clean with any ablution. Unclean, unclean shall he be. For as long as he despises the precepts of God he shall receive no instruction in the Community of His counsel.

For it is through the spirit of true counsel concerning the ways of man that all his sins shall be expiated that he may contemplate the light of life....."

Section XI

lines 8-40

"As for me,
my justification is with God.
In His hand are the perfection of my way
and the uprightness of my heart.
He will wipe out my transgression through His righteousness.
For my light has sprung
from the source of His knowledge;
my eyes have behld His marvellous deeds,
and the light of my heart, the mystery to come.
He that is everlasting
is the support of my right hand;
the way of my steps is over stout rock
which nothing shall shake;
for the rock of my steps is the truth of God
and His might is the support of my right hand.

From/

From the source of His righteousness
is my justification,
and from His marvellous mysteries
is the light in my heart.

My eyes have gazed
on that which is eternal,
on wisdom concealed from men,
on knowledge and wise design
(hidden) from the sons of men;
on a fountain of righteousness
and on a storehouse of power,
on a spring of glory
(hidden) from the assembly of flesh.
God has given them to His chosen ones
as an everlasting possession,
and has caused them to inherit
the lot of Holy Ones.....

lines 46-55

"As for me,
I belong to wicked mankind,
to the company of ungodly flesh.
My iniquities, rebellions and sins,
together with the perversity of my heart
belong to the company of worms
and to those who walk in darkness.
For mankind has no way,
and man is unable to establish his steps
since justification is with God....."

lines 60-78

"As for me,
if I stumble, the mercies of God
shall be my eternal salvation.
If I stagger because of the sin of flesh,
my justification shall be
by/

by the righteousness of God which endures for ever.
When my distress is unleashed
He will deliver my soul from the Pit
and will direct my steps to the way.
He will draw me near by His grace,
and by His mercy will He bring my justification.
He will judge me in the righteousness of His truth
and in the greatness of His Goodness
He will pardon all my sins.
Through His righteousness He will cleanse me
of the uncleanness of man
and of the sins of the children of men,
that I may confess to God His righteousness,
and His majesty to the Most High.

The Damascus Rule, or Zadokite Document (ZD)

Section III

"Through it, the children of Noah went astray, together with their kin, and were cut off. Abraham did not walk in it, and he was accounted friend of God because he kept the commandments of God and did not choose his own will. And he handed them down to Isaac and Jacob, who kept them, and were recorded as friends of God and party to the Covenant for ever".

(N.B. underlining by present writer)

Section IV

"(They were the first men) of holiness whom God forgave, and who justified the righteous and condemned the wicked".

The Hymn Scroll (I QH)

Hymn IV. lines 100-108

"But what is flesh (to be worthy) of this?
What is a creature of clay
for such great marvels to be done,
whereas he is in iniquity from the womb
and in guilty unfaithfulness until his old age?
Righteous, I know, is not of man,
nor is perfection of way of the son of man:
to the most High God belong all righteous deeds".

lines 131-139

"Lean on Thy grace
and on the multitude of Thy mercies,
for Thou wilt pardon iniquity
and through Thy righteousness
(Thou wilt purify man) of his sin.
Not for his sake wilt Thou do it,
(but for the sake of Thy glory).
For Thou has created the just and wicked".

HymnV. lines 13-18

"Thou hast caused me to dwell with the many fishers
who spread a net upon the face of the waters,
and with the hunters of the children of iniquity;
Thou has established me there for justice.
Thou hast confirmed the counsel of truth in my heart
and the waters of the Covenant for those who seek it".

Hymn VII. lines 94-100

"Yet Thou bringest all the sons of Thy truth
in forgiveness before Thee,
(to cleanse) them of their faults
through Thy great goodness,
and to establish them before Thee
through the multitude of Thy mercies
for ever and ever".

Hymn XVI. lines 22-29

"And I know that man is not righteous
except through Thee,
and therefore I implore Thee
by the Spirit which Thou has given (me)
to perfect Thy (favours) to Thy servant (for ever),
purifying me by Thy Holy Spirit,
and drawing me near to Thee by Thy grace
according to the abundance of Thy mercies".

Commentary on Habakkuk (1QHab) VIII :-

"(But/

"(But the righteous shall live by His faith) (ii,4b).
Interpreted, this concerns all those who observe the Law in the
House of Judah, whom God will deliver from the House of Judgement
because of their suffering and because of their faith in the
Teacher of Righteousness".

.....

Comment on these verses is superfluous, except to say that they reflect the strong Old Testament tradition of seeing Salvation as inextricably bound up with Predestination. It is because of their election as the chosen sect of God, that they are saved. Through this, and adherence to the Law comes their redemption.

The Habakkuk passage shows an interesting point of contact with Pauline thought in its linking of Salvation with Faith. (23)

.....

(23) Cf. Rom., 3,22 and 26; 4,16; 5,1; Gal.3,11 and 26; 5,5.

Justification in the Pauline Epistle

It could be said with truth, that most of Paul's theology has as its basis the doctrine known as Justification. It would be tedious, and, indeed, superfluous to try to quote lists of texts in support of this view. Eventually it would be found that the whole of Paul's writings had been quoted!

What can be done, with profit to this particular study, is to see what some leading Pauline scholars have said about it, and so give a means of evaluation.

W.D. Davies writes:-

"In fact, the relationships between God and Man - in the light of Jesus - cannot be expressed in terms of Law at all. Paul saw in the mercy of the ministry of Jesus and in the grace of God's love in him a pledge of the universal everlasting mercy of God to all mankind, and not only a pledge but an intervention of God in Man's destiny to place him in the right or to correct his misdirection". (24)

Such a statement gives a more than adequate description of the central meaning of the doctrine.

The word which Paul employs to convey this doctrine is δικαιωσις. This noun is derived from the verb δικαιωω which is translated as "to treat as righteous". Messrs Sanday and Headlam have this to say about the verb:-

"The verb δικαιωω means properly 'to pronounce righteous'. It has relation to a verdict pronounced by a judge. In so far as the person 'pronounced righteous' is not really righteous it has the sense of 'amnesty' or 'forgiveness'. But it cannot mean to 'make righteous'. There may be other influences which go to make a person righteous, but they are not contained, or even hinted at, in the word δικαιωω. That word means 'to declare righteous', 'to treat as righteous'; it may even mean 'to prove righteous'; but whether the person so declared, treated as, or proved to be righteous is really so, the word itself neither affirms or denies". (25)

(24) Invitation to the New Testament", p.323

(25) "Commentary on Romans (ICC)", p.30

Previous to this comment, there is a very complete exposition of the history of the word and its place in human thought:-

"δικαιος, δικαιοσυνη . In considering the meaning and application of these terms it is important to place ourselves at the right point of view - at the point of view, that is, of St. Paul himself, a Jew of the Jews, and not either Greek or medieval or modern. Two main facts have to be borne in mind in regard to the history of the words δικαιος and δικαιοσυνη. The first is that although there was a sense in which the Greek words covered the whole range of right action.....yet in practice it was far more commonly used in the narrower sense of Justice. The Platonic designation of δικαιοσυνη as one of the four cardinal virtues (Wisdom, Temperance, and Courage, or Fortitude being the others) had a decisive and lasting influence on the whole subsequent history of the word in the usage of Greek philosophy, and of all those moral systems which have their roots in that fertile soil. In giving a more limited scope to the word Plato was only following the genius of his people. The real standard of Greek morals was rather το καλον that which was morally noble, impressive, admirable - than το δικαιοσ. And if there was this tendency to throw the larger sense of δικαιοσυνη into the background in Greek morals, that tendency was still more intensified when the scene was changed from Greece to Rome. The Latin language had no equivalent at all for the wider meaning of δικαιοσυνη . It had to fall back on justitia , which in Christian circles indeed could not help being affected by the dominant use in the Bible, but which could never fully throw off the limiting conditions of its origin. This is the second great fact of great and outstanding significance. We have to remember that the Middle Ages derived one half of its list of virtues through Cicero from the Stoics and Plato, and that the four Pagan virtues were still further thrown into the shade by the Christian triad.

Happily/

Happily for ourselves we have in English two distinct words for the two distinct conceptions 'Justice' and 'Righteousness'. And so especially from the time of the translation of the Bible into the vernacular, the conception 'righteousness' has gone far to recover its central importance. The same may be said about the Teutonic nations generally through the strength of the Biblical influence, though the German branch has but the single word 'Gerechtigkeit' to express the two ideas. With them it is probably true that the wider sense takes precedence of the narrower. But at the time St. Paul wrote the Jew stood alone in maintaining the larger sense of the word full and undiminished". (26)

Here the conflict between the Jewish conception of Law, and adherence to it as the prerequisite for Salvation, is made clear. Here too, is seen the novelty of Paul's thought, in saying that the sinner is actually treated as righteous, in advance of being made righteous.

Martin Dibelius in one of his books has this to say:-

"Believing is to look away from self, disregard both one's wretchedness and one's merits, and trust in God's having settled the matter through Jesus Christ". (27)

For Paul the essence of Justification is that God has "settled the matter" of human sin and estrangement from God, through faith in Jesus Christ. There is no question of having built up a "treasury of merits" which can be balanced against human shortcomings and sin. D.E. Whiteley says more or less this very thing:-

"When he speaks of justification by faith, Paul is denying the false view that we can earn something by merits, as if we could acquire rights against God, and when he speaks of judgement according to works he is opposing a different error, the belief that conduct does not matter". (28)

Note/

- (26) Op.cit., pp.28,29.
(27) "Paul", p.117
(28) Op.Cit., p.156

Note also what Whiteley writes on p.160:-

".....man has not righteousness in himself, even a righteousness given gratuitously by God; what God has gratuitously conferred upon men is a right relationship with Himself."

H. St. John Thackeray says:-

"St. Paul's doctrine is then that there is another kind of righteousness than that attainable by man's unaided endeavours to fulfil the law, namely the righteousness of God Himself, which may be appropriated by man on the simple condition of faith in Christ. Man's faith is counted for righteousness, he is treated better than he deserves; he starts with a clear account before God, and his past is blotted out: a verdict of 'not Guilty' is pronounced in his favour, even though hitherto he has been actually ungodly (ἄσεβης, Rom.4,5). Thus startling as it may seem 'the Christian life is made to have its beginning in a fiction' (Sanday and Headlam, p.36). A reciprocation or interchange of human and divine qualities takes place: while Christ becomes a curse and sin for us (Gal. 3,13; 2 Cor.5,21), we are made a righteousness of God in Him. It is needless here to attempt to discuss how St. Paul would have reconciled this doctrine with the importance which he elsewhere attributes to conduct and works; it is sufficient to point to his doctrine of the mystical union of Christ and the true believer, which renders continuance in evil-doing after justification an impossibility (Rom.6-8) ". (29)

For Paul, Justification is part and parcel of the eschatological break-through, in the coming of Christ.

Rudolf Bultmann points out this interesting fact:-

"But before we proceed further to clarify the contrast between the Pauline and the Jewish conception, it must be clearly recognised that there is complete agreement between them as to the formal meaning of DIKAIOSYNE: it is a forensic-eschatological term. The forensic meaning of 'righteous' and be 'rightwised' is already a clear implication of Rom. 2-13.....as it also is of the expressions modelled after Gen.15,6 that speak of 'Being reckoned (λογίζεσθαι) as righteousness (Rom.4,3; 5,22; Gal./
(29) Op.cit., p.86

Gal. 3,6; cf. 'to reckon righteous to.....' Rom.4,6), in which 'reckon' has the same forensic meaning as the Hebrew לָּוִי (Lev. 7,18; 2 Sam.19,19; Ps.32,2), for which the LXX uses precisely the same Greek verb (or its compound $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\sigma\upsilon\eta$). The eschatological meaning of 'dikaiosyne' is clear as day in the passages that speak of a future verdict of righteousness to come in the eschatological judgement; such are Rom.2,13 again and also Gal. 5,5.....

The future tenses in Rom. 3,20.....and 3,30.....are perhaps not genuine futures, but gnomic or logical futures. Rom.5,19 'many will be made righteous' is evidently said as if uttered in Jesus' time (the dividing point of the ages); hence it is already true in the present in which Paul is speaking (cf.vv. 17,21). On the other hand, neither is the present used in the present-tense statements of Gal. 2,16; 3,11; 5,4 a genuine present, but the timeless present of didactic statement and may therefore apply in spite of the tense to the decision of God in the coming judgement". (30)

This theme is expanded further in the same chapter:-

"At this point it is of basic importance to comprehend that by his thesis that righteousness is a present reality Paul, nevertheless, does not rob it of its forensic-eschatological meaning. The paradoxicality of his assertion is this: God already pronounces His eschatological verdict (over the man of faith) in the present; the eschatological event is already present reality, or, rather, is beginning in the present. Therefore, the righteousness which God adjudicates to man (the man of faith) is not 'sinlessness' in the sense of ethical perfection, but is 'sinlessness' in the sense that God does not 'count' man's sin against him (2 Cor.5,19) ". (31)

And further/

.....

(30) "Theology of the New Testament", Vol.One, p.273.

(31) Op.cit., p.276

And further:-

"The present reality of righteousness rests upon its having been 'revealed' by the occurring of salvation in Christ (Rom.3,21-26; Cor. 5,21; cf. 1 Cor. 1,30). This saving occurrence, however, is the eschatological event by which God ended the old course of the world and introduced the new aeon. For 'when the time had fully come, God sent forth His son' (Gal.4,4); so now 'the old has passed away' and 'the new has come' and whoever is 'in Christ' is a 'new creature' (2 Cor. 5,17). The New Covenant (2 Cor.3,6ff) predicted for the eschatological period by Jeremiah has taken the place of the Old Covenant, and the 'acceptable time' prophesied by Isaiah has arrived (2 Cor. 6,2). (32)

C.K. Barrett agrees with these sentiments thus:-

"The New Creation and the Individual - The place to begin is Paul's doctrine of justification. The groundwork of this is eschatological. Justification means God's acts of doing justice and judgement; of pronouncing sentence in his court and especially of giving the verdict of acquittal for those whom it is right that he should acquit". (33)

This Justification has its roots in Eschatology. Barrett says:-

"Justification is an anticipation of God's verdict at the last judgement. The last judgement itself leads to the heavenly life. The anticipated verdict leads to an anticipation of the heavenly life. This can only be described as a progressive realization of the conditions for which God created man, that is, a life of communion with Himself, and of dominion over the rest of creation; a life of holiness and of bliss. It must never be forgotten that in this present age this heavenly life is truly anticipated, but only anticipated. The evil powers, though their decisive defeat has already taken place, retain their capacity for inflicting harm and pain, and for leading astray. Death still reigns, and will continue to do so 'till the parousia and the End. Christians including not least the apostles (1 Cor. 4,9-13), are constantly in peril from demonic forces, though they are assured/

(32) Op.cit., p.278

(33) "From First Adam to Last", p.103

assured that these cannot separate them from God's love (Rom.8,38f). Nevertheless, though the anticipation is partial and must be qualified by the observation that the justified man continues to live in the present age, it is also real, and being real imposes an obligation upon those who enjoy it". (34)

Always at the back of Paul's mind when he was writing about this subject, was the old eschatological idea of the Covenant. D.E. Whiteley points this out:-

"The relationship with God which the Christian enjoyed was in St. Paul's thought modelled partly upon the covenant relationship which the Jew enjoyed through the work of God on Mount Sinai and through circumcision, which was 'a sign of the covenant' (Gen. xvii.II) between God and Abraham, and partly upon the favourable judgement which for the Jew still lay in the future. For St. Paul 'justification' has an eschatological ring; it does not belong exclusively to the sphere of realized eschatology, since a futuristic meaning is retained in Rom. ii.13, 'It is not by hearing the law, but by doing it that men will be justified before God', and in Gal. V.5 'For to us, our hope of attaining that righteousness which we eagerly await is the work of the Spirit through Faith' ". (35)

There is always the danger that any study of Pauline theology will over-concentrate on this doctrine of Justification, since it bulks so large in his thought and miss the vital point, that for Paul everything is over-shadowed and coloured by his eschatological beliefs. W.D. Davies says:-

"It will, of course, be understood that when we relegate the doctrine of Justification by Faith to the periphery and not to the centre of Paul's thought, we do not thereby belittle its profound truth or its significance for Christian theology; we merely assign it to that proper place where it can be viewed in true perspective in its relation to the Pauline teaching as a whole. It is a simplification and even a falsification of the complexity of Paul's thought to pin down Justification by Faith as its quintessence, and our work will have made it clear that the centre of that thought is to be found not in Paul's attack on the

old/

(34) Op.cit., p.104

(35) Op.cit., p.160

.....

Old Torah but in his awareness that with the coming of Christ the Age to Come had become present fact, the proof of which was the advent of the Spirit; it lies in those conceptions of standing under the judgement and mercy of a New Torah, Christ, of dying and rising with that same Christ, of undergoing a New Exodus in Him and of so being incorporated into a New Israel, the Community of the Spirit". (36)

C.A. Anderson Scott holds very much the same view, as expressed in these words:-

"In all that he has to say on the subject St. Paul is working with ideas which have their source, and find copious illustration, in the Old Testament. That men require to be 'justified', declared righteous, and further that they could establish a claim to be declared righteous was a commonplace of Jewish teaching. The prophets pressed home the necessity; and the law indicated the means whereby it could be accomplished..... But it must be remembered that down to the same period at least the proof of this righteousness would be generally expected and recognised in earthly prosperity, which was the manifestation of God's favour within the present life.

But when this interpretation of righteousness and its attestation could no longer be maintained in the face of experience, when attention began to be focused upon an Age to come for the fulfilment of religious hope, and upon a Divine intervention for the final discrimination between the wicked and the righteous, a new emphasis began to be placed upon God's share in justification or declaring righteous. The ground on which a favourable decision might be looked for, was not changed. It was still found in 'good works' or the full performance of the Law. What God-fearing men looked for was that public acknowledgement and vindication of their righteousness which was denied them in the circumstances of their time. It came therefore to be part of the Messianic Age, part of the promised 'salvation' that God would 'justify' those who deserved it, contradict the apparent witness of experience by declaring them righteous". (37)

(36) "Paul and Rabbinic Judaism", p.222-223

(37) "Christianity According to St. Paul" p.56

Adolph Deismann also agrees with this view. He states:-

"Being justified in Christ the believer possesses the 'righteousness of God' in Christ (2 Cor. 5,21). This frequent technical expression (2 Cor. 5,21; Rom. 1,17; 3,21,22,25,26,10,3), once replaced and explained by the phrase 'righteousness from God' (Phil 3,9), is used by Paul of the normal condition conferred upon us in Christ by the grace of God. But that this is nothing in the nature of a magical transformation is shown by the passage (Gal.5,5) which speaks of a 'waiting for' the desired righteousness: before all men lies the last judgement, which at length will bring definitive justification. The justified man is therefore not a completely righteous man; he still has a goal of righteousness before him. In the apostles' thoughts on justification, as elsewhere, we see the peculiar dynamical tension between the consciousness of present possession and the expectation of future full possession".
(38)

There can be no denying the fact, therefore, that justification cannot exist in a spiritual vacuum. It can only exist when seen as part of the eschatological process of Salvation, as seen in the Revelation of the Christ to Mankind. However, in Paul's thought, the medium through which this justification is expressed, and by which it is appropriated by humanity is through Faith. Justification is not to be thought of as existing by itself. It is always justification by Faith.

C.K. Barrett writes:-

"Every Jew knew where and when one might expect to see God doing justice: in the great assize at the last day, when final and irrevocable doom would be pronounced. We shall not now trace in detail the process of thought, and especially the understanding of the death of Christ, which made it possible for Paul to assert that this last judgement had been anticipated, and that the man who was prepared humbly and obediently to hear and accept God's judgement, that is, to hear it in faith, could, to his own astonishment, hear not the fully deserved verdict of 'Convicted' but the completely undeserved verdict of 'Acquitted' (which is not the same as 'innocent'). Rather we must underline two further points:-

.....
(38) "Paul" p.170

The hearing of faith (which is certainly not an attitude that man is able of himself freely to adopt, but is a gift from God, made possible in the Holy Spirit) is itself a reversal of the rebellious dissatisfaction of Adam, who was not content to accept the place God assigned to him, but set out to secure a better place for himself. One might almost say, not simply that justification is through faith, but that faith is justification. This is the ultimate ground of the sola fide, and the reason why this is and must continue to be a criterion of theology and of Christian life. It is not that faith is in Pauline or any other proper usage as shibboleth, or an 'Open Sesame' which operates as a magic formula. It is not that faith is an indispensable agent or instrument which by itself effects justification or salvation. It is simply that faith is a description (from the human side) of the relationship with God for which God created man, in which man lets God be truly God, and lets himself truly be man, that is, the obedient creature of the loving God. Now the only way into this relationship of faith is - faith. No man can create a relationship of complete dependence upon God by that which he can achieve independently of God; nor can he so sustain it. This truth (that faith is, as it were, both means and end) is reflected in the variety of ways in which the word is used in the Pauline letters". (39)

In other words, the process of salvation depends on a personal relationship. Sanday and Headlam make this point clear:-

"The later disciple (Paul) saw that, if there was to be a real reformation, the first thing to be done was to give it a personal ground, to base it on a personal relationship. And therefore he lays down that the righteousness of the Christian is to be a 'righteousness of faith'.....

It is sharply contrasted with the Jewish conception of righteousness as obedience to law, and of course goes far deeper than any pagan conception as to the motive of righteousness. The specially Pauline feature in the conception expressed in this passage is that the 'declaration of righteousness' on the part of God, the Divine verdict of acquittal, runs in advance of the actual/

actual practice of righteousness, and comes forth at once on the sincere embracing of Christianity". (40)

Always there emerges the position of Justification by Faith as contrasted with the more orthodox Jewish view of Salvation as the result of obedience to works of the Law. Justification involves obedience, not to the Torah, but to the Spirit of God. D.E. Whitely states quite rightly:-

"It has become clear that 'faith' can refer to intellectual acceptance. It can also carry overtones of the notion of obedience. It is hardly to be disputed that for St. Paul the justification - faith situation included trust, intellectual acceptance, and obedience. We shall see further that for the Apostle, justification 'by' faith was a gift of God. It was in no sense a work; indeed, it was sharply contrasted with circumcision and works of the law. Although St. Paul does use language which suggests that faith is a 'condition' of salvation, he does not mean that it is a prior condition; rather, faith is a result of God's activity. Faith, however, is not caused by the Spirit. On the contrary, the Spirit comes to those who already believe". (41)

Gradually the personal nature of Paul's belief about justification comes to light. Faith is for him, faith in God through the medium of the Risen Christ. It is no abstract, theological doctrine. It is the direct result of his own personal experience. W.D. Davies has this to say:-

"It is only in those epistles, namely, Galatians and Romans, where Paul is consciously presenting the claims of his Gospel over against those of Judaism that Justification by Faith is emphasised. Since Christ had replaced the Torah as the centre of his religious life, Paul in his controversy with those who insisted on the centrality of the old Torah and the necessity of obedience to it for all, had to find scriptural support for his position, /

.....

(40) Op.cit., p.30

(41) Op.cit., p.162

position, the only kind of support that would carry conviction to his opponents. He did this by appeal to two passages from Gen. 15,6 and Hab. 2,14, on the basis of which he could argue that faith rather than obedience was, according to Scripture itself, the basis of Salvation. How little, however, Paul intended that Faith should be opposed to obedience will be clear when we recall his work as ethical $\delta\delta\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, and, in particular, how he had ascribed to Christ the significance of a new Torah to whose obedience he had been called". (42)

It was not only the person of Christ who opened up this new means of salvation; it was by his death on the Cross that ultimate redemption was secured. J. Klausner writes:-

"Paul concludes.....that the essential thing is not obedience to the Law as a means whereby the iniquities of man are pardoned, but divine grace - the willingness of God to pardon transgressions, to forgive sins, without holding man accountable for his iniquities..

Obviously, continues Paul's reasoning, it is to be concluded.....that the essential thing is faith in God. The Jews believe in God, yet they do not find salvation and divine grace except by observance of Torah and ceremonial laws. But these two things do not save them. One necessarily says, they are wrong, and the essential thing is - faith in Christ. Christ as the spiritual son of God was without sin; yet he bore severe sufferings, was crucified, and died a shameful death. His sufferings were, therefore, vicarious sufferings, and his death was an atoning death. He who had in him no sin was crucified as a sacrifice for all mankind, in whom no sin had lodged since the days of the first Adam. Death came upon man through the first 'Adam's transgressions' (Rom.5,14). Until Jesus, all died by this sin, even Moses; only Jesus, who also died, and a shameful death with much suffering on the cross, rose. Since he died a death of punishment, although he was without sin, behold his afflictions and resurrection provide redemption from death and inherited sin alike - that is to say, from 'original Sin' ".(43)

.....

(42) "Paul and Rabbinic Judaism" p.222

(43) "From Jesus to Paul" p.516/7

Adolph Deissman has a very good paragraph on this part of the subject:-

"As an accused person man stands before God's judgement seat as part of the mighty complex of religious imagery which surrounds the fundamental word justification. This imagery has its psychological starting point in the old Jewish and Old apostolic expectation of judgement at the last day. In Christ this accused person becomes unaccused; he is awarded not condemnation, but liberty. 'Acquittal' is the meaning of the Pauline justification. And with the acquittal experienced 'in Christ' coincides with justification 'out of faith' (Gal. ii,16), 'through faith' (Phil, iii,9), 'By faith' (Rom.iii,22,28,30), because faith is indeed union with Christ, and is only realised 'in Christ'". (44)

Perhaps the whole thing can be summed up admirably in the words of J.S. Stewart in this way:-

"For with Abraham and the Jewish religion generally, the centre of gravity lay in the future, and hope was directed towards the fulfilment of still outstanding prophecies; whereas Paul had definitely passed beyond the sphere of hope and promise into that of realized fact. Hence faith was not so much a confidence that God's word would some day be fulfilled, as a recognition that it had been fulfilled already, and fulfilled in a way that claimed the surrender of a man's life in love and gratitude and obedience". (45)

This leads on to the problem of how much Paul owed to his Jewish background; how much was old, and how much was new.

Certainly there is a radical opposition to his traditional upbringing and education in his complete denial of the Law as the means of Salvation. Efforts have been made to deny that Paul was a Jew of the highest calibre, but most scholars still incline to the view that essentially he was speaking the truth when he claimed to be a 'Hebrew of the Hebrews' (46) E.D. Davies writes:-

"Everything points to Paul being a Pharisaic Jew of the strictest kind. He was no inferior product of the Diaspora, but one bred and nourished in Israel. The picture of Paul as a Hellenistic Jew has to be abandoned". (47)

(44) Op.cit., p.168/9 (46) Philipians 3,5-6

(45) Op.cit., pp.178-9 (47) "Invitation to the New Testament, p. 249

He elaborates on this with this judgement:-

"It would be misleading to assert that the Doctrine of Merits and cognate ideas played a dominating part in first century Judaism.....Nevertheless, it did form a well-defined element in the religious thought of that milieu into which Paul came, and that Paul was familiar with the Doctrine of Merits of the Father would appear to be proved by his reference in Rom. 11,28..... The terms which Paul chiefly used to describe the results of the work of Christ are 'redemption', 'justification, and 'atonement'. It is not our task to examine what each of these terms signifies; we are merely concerned to point out that these are the conceptions most often found in the Rabbinical literature to describe the effects of the merits of the righteous.....The three terms referred to are such as would fall with great familiarity on the ears of the Rabbis of the first century and as such a Rabbi like Paul would naturally use in declaring the 'merits' of Christ and their benefits". (48)

From such a statement as that, there can be little doubt of the magnitude of the debt Paul owed to his forefathers.

H.J. Schoeps is in general agreement with this line of thought:-

"In general, Paul shows himself to be familiar with juristic terminology. He knows and speaks the language of Jewish law and business of his time. This is seen in the fact that he is obviously unable to conceive how God can forgive a sin, until it has been expiated by objective satisfaction. Thus in Gal. 4,2 Paul actually describes the death of Christ by using a technical term relating to taxes, *τεροσφισ*, indicating the period when old demands cease to be valid". (49)

However, as J. Klausner rightly points out, Paul could never bring himself to abrogate the Law completely:-

"But/

.....

(48) "Paul and Rabbinic Judaism", p.272

(49) Op.cit., p.133

"But the Pharisaic Jew also demanded his share.

Thus we see Paul, whom Nietzsche called the 'destroyer of the Law' refraining from speaking against the Torah with absolute finality. And in the very same passage in which he accuses the Law and the commandments of being the cause of sinning, he also says: 'the Law is holy, and the commandment holy, and righteous and good'. (Rom.7,12). Whenever he appears to attack the Law he excuses himself with the expression 'God forbid!.' (μή γένοιτο), (Rom.7,7). Not only so, but he attempts to prove by forced interpretations of the words of the Torah itself that it has been set aside. Hence he can say 'For I through the Law died unto the Law'". (50)

Something of the author's own Jewishness can be felt in the above quotation; his own horror at Paul's actions can be read quite distinctly between the lines! However, it does not detract from the essential truth of his statements. It cannot be denied that there is this lingering respect for the Law in Paul's writings, despite his insistence that its religious importance has been misplaced or misinterpreted by his fellow Jews.

H. St. J. Thackeray points out the difference between Paul and orthodox Judaism. Summarised briefly they are:-

1. His repudiation of any merit in works of law. Rom.3,20; Gal. 2,16; 3.11.

Frequent invectives against 'boasting' are directed against the self-complacent attitude fostered in the Jew by the doctrine of the merit of works.

2. The place assigned to Faith. Rom.1,17; 3,21-22; 10,4. Paul's doctrine is that there is another kind of righteousness than that attainable by man's unaided endeavours to fulfil the law i.e. the righteousness of God Himself, which may be appropriated by man on the simple condition of faith in Christ.

Man's faith is counted for righteousness and he is treated far better than he deserves. A reciprocation or interchange of human and divine qualities takes place; while Christ becomes a curse and sin for us (Gal. 3,13; 2 Cor. 5,21) we are made a righteousness of God in Him.

3. Whereas the Jew was in continual uncertainty as to his standing in God's sight, the Christian believer becomes immediately certain of his acceptance with God (Rom.8,1).
4. = Whereas justification was the sole end of the Jew's striving to keep the law, and is practically equivalent to ultimate salvation, with Paul justification by faith is merely the initial stage in the Christian's career, being followed by sanctification and leading to ultimate glory (Rom. 6,19; 8,30).

"But in spite of all the obvious contrasts, it is clear that the whole doctrine, with its formal and judicial terminology has its roots in the older ideas of Judaism". (51)

Note also:-

"We should probably look not so much to the contemporary Jewish theology for the ultimate sources of Paul's thought as to passages in the older theology of Psalms and Isaiah, where the righteousness of God is spoken of as a power which goes forth and propagates itself among men e.g. Ps. 24,5; Isa.56,1; 46,13; 5-6". (52)

Pauls thought was undeniably built on his Jewish background.

Again J.S. Stewart provides a fitting summing up, which, is basically sound and true. He writes:-

"It is a risky business, admittedly, to try to make old categories do duty for a totally new experience, especially when that experience itself directly negates much of the older position; and it may be questioned whether the concepts of righteousness, justification, and so forth, which Paul inherited from Judaism, were always adequate for the purpose to which he put them. But just as it was the fact of redemption he was dealing with, so the very concepts used have, as it were, been redeemed and born again. The Old categories begin to live and breathe with a vitality that Rabbinism had never put into them. Damascus meant a rediscovered Old Testament. Meanings previously unguessed now leapt out at Paul from every page. Hidden truths flashed into view. The student under Gamaliel, the trained Pharisee, the persecutor of all innovators and heretics, had always thought himself learned and adept in the oracles of God; but Christ laid hold/ (51) Op.cit., p.87 (52) Op.cit.; p.89"

hold on him, and suddenly what he had pondered and pored over so diligently for years was a new book. Righteousness, justification, all the familiar conceptions were still there, but shining now with a light how different, how transfiguring, how wonderful! " (53)

Paul had, in reality, "Christianised" the old traditional tenets of orthodox Judaism.

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(53) Op.cit., p.40

Summing up and Conclusion

In comparing the doctrine of Justification in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pauline Epistles, it would seem that there is a very strong affinity, or similarity of thought. The people of the scrolls seem at one point to be moving away from strict adherence to the observance of the Jewish Law, the Torah, at least in matters theological. In matters ceremonial, liturgical and ritual a rigid observance of the Law was still to be found, but in their thinking of Salvation, Redemption or Justification, it is clear that there was a feeling that this did not come as a result of obeying laws and commands. In other words, it came by the grace of God. There is the same sense of unworthiness as is found in the thinking of Paul.. Man is justified, not because he deserves it, but, as it were, because God cannot stop Himself justifying.

In the Damascus Document, Section III, Abraham is used as a model of the 'justified man', in much the same way as Paul uses him in Romans, Chapter 4. The Habbakkuk quote is also very akin to the thought of Paul in Romans, especially 3,22 and 26. The actual form of the words is very similar in that case also.

It might be objected that there is no mention of Faith in the Scrolls. But who can read the Hymn Scroll without being convinced that here is a man of devoted faith in God? It may not be found in actual words, but the whole atmosphere in the Hymn Scroll, and, indeed in the entire corpus of the Scrolls is one of Faith.

Paul and the Scrolls were again showing themselves to be different examples of development of orthodox Jewish thought. There is no doubt that Paul surpassed the thought of the Scrolls by his linking of Redemption or Justification with the person of the Risen Christ. There is really nothing in the Scrolls to be compared with that.

But it is fair to say that there is a close bond between Paul and the Scrolls in this realm of thought, which makes it not unlikely that Paul had been in close contact with Qumran itself, or at least with some of the "scattered disciples" who

according to Josephus, were 'planted' in every major town to act as hosts for peripatetic Essenes. It is surely within the bounds of possibility that Paul came into contact with some such 'hosts' in Damascus, who imparted to him at least the substance of much of the thought of the Scrolls, or who gave him access to duplicate copies of the actual sectarian scrolls. When the Hymn Scroll is compared with letters such as Romans or Galatians, it is clear that the writer of the latter documents had, in all probability, read the former.

This doctrine shows a very strong, possibly personal link, between the Scrolls and Paul

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OVERALL CONCLUSIONS

In the realm of pure 'theology', (if it is possible to compartment Theology, Eschatology and Ethics), the signs are that there was a very strong link between Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls. The separate conclusions to the two parts go into detail in this respect. Generally speaking what emerges is the picture of two different branches of orthodox Judaism developing in their own individual way. But both seem to be sharing a common background of thought. However, occasionally the two seem to come close together, as in the doctrine of Justification, where there seems to be almost something of a personal contact between the two.

No-one can prove that Paul knew the writings and people of Qumran. No-one, however, can disprove that they were in contact. In other parts of this thesis, it will be postulated that Paul may have visited Qumran; or come in contact with them in Damascus, which was a city important for Qumran as well as for Paul..What can be said with certainty, is, that both parties lived in the same theological atmosphere. It is thus virtually impossible that Paul had not heard of the settlement at Qumran, or did not know the general outlines of their teachings and beliefs. However, the indications are that Paul knew them and their writings in far greater detail than that. Many influences combined to make Paul the outstanding person that he was. Not least is that of the people and writing which emerged from the Monastery at Qumran.

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CHAPTER THREE

"Eschatology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pauline Epistles"

Eschatology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pauline Epistles

Whether or not the people of the Dead Sea Scrolls were the Essenes, it is yet true to say that the Qumran Community was very largely an eschatological one. This was a group of breakaways from orthodox Judaism, following in the line of the apocalyptists of intertestamental times; men who had voluntarily withdrawn from normal human life to await the End. The desert had always been thought of as a likely place for the Final Consummation of all things. Careful study of the Old Testament reveals the myth of Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained associated with this very region. Ezekiel 47 tells of a spring arising beneath the altar of Jerusalem which will flow down to the Dead Sea, and fructify the entire region. When the stream reaches the Dead Sea, it will transform the lethal waters of that salty lake into a body of living water swarming with fish, like the Mediterranean. The barren wild to which one must retire in order to clear the way for the inbreaking of the New Age was interpreted by the Qumran people, as that part of Judea near the north west shore of the Dead Sea.

The whole corpus of the Qumran writings are full of eschatological and apocalyptic images. From the mass of material there emerges three main concepts:-

1. Resurrection
2. The Messiah
3. The Final Battle

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1. Resurrection

M. Black quite definitely thinks that the Qumran people did have a doctrine of Resurrection. Speaking of 1QH3,19-36 he says:-

"There seems to me to be no doubt... that as contrasted with Sadducean doctrine, the Zadokites did believe in a doctrine of immortal or eternal life. This is implied by the contrast between 'joy in eternal life', and, 'the fire of the dark regions' ; the expression '(ever)lasting life' can only be the *ἡ ζωὴ αἰώνιος* of the New Testament. The clue to the understanding of the eschatology of the scrolls in this connection is to be found in its doctrine of the *Ἀνακλινῶν* .

The world is to be restored to its 'paradisical' state before the Fall; the glory which Adam lost at the Fall is to be restored to the Renewed Mankind (1QS 4,23. CD5,5-6). Sin and Evil are to be banished from the earth (1QS4,18-23), and a renewed and obedient Mankind is to live on for a thousand generations, an expression which in fact practically means "eternal life" (CD7,5-6). Thus Adam is restored to his state before the Fall, and lives for ever in this new Paradise.

The nature of this eternal life is given distinctive expression in the scrolls by the idea that the loyal covenanters will enjoy an angelic existence. They are not only to live like angels and consort with angels, but to become as angels. The thought has no doubt developed out of the idea of God coming to dwell with men with His holy angels in a restored Temple in Jerusalem. cf. Ezek. 37.27-8. and esp Zechariah 3,7;14,5.

The idea of likeness to the angels occurs again in the Benedictions (1QSB, Columns 3 and 4) along with a ref. to God's Holy dwelling place, in which the Covenanters is to find his place". (1)

So far, there is an undoubted atmosphere of the imminent approach of the end. The thought of the Scrolls is coming into line with the main thought of Jewish apocalyptic.

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(1) "The Scrolls and Christian Origins" pp.138-140

Of all the scholars, M. Black is really the only one who is sure that the Qumran sect adhered to a doctrine of Resurrection. He says:-

"It is virtually certain that the sect had some form of belief in Resurrection, though, so far, no unambiguously clear evidence for such has emerged". (2)

It would seem that the scholar would like the sect to have such a belief, and strains the existing material to fit his own preconceived ideas.

To continue:-

"Indeed, on the contrary, a number of passages appear to imply the old Biblical belief of Sheol, which seems to rule out, not only every form of belief in the Resurrection, but also, no less, any kind of hope of immortality, e.g. 1QS 11,20-22.

"What shall one born of woman be accounted before Thee?" (3) It would seem as if the commentator has great difficulty in making up his mind, and decides in the end to sit on the fence. It seems very difficult to extract a doctrine of Resurrection from such thin evidence.

Black cites 1QH 6,29-34, as the central passage of evidence for a belief in the Resurrection:-

"And then at the time of Judgement....." (4) Black is quite right when he says that there is a "certain ambiguity which cannot be removed entirely from the passage". (5) Even this comment seems to point to the fact that he would like no ambiguity in the passage, because he wants to believe in the presence of a Resurrection doctrine in the Scrolls. A close examination of the passage in question shows up a definite ambiguity. The line:-

"and all the sons of His truth shall awake to (overthrow) wickedness". (6)

taken in its context, does not justify the extraction from it of any kind of doctrine of Resurrection. The context is a purely military one, concerned with the final battle at the time of the Last Judgement. It is most unlikely that the passage/

(2) Op.cit., p.141 (4) Op.cit., p.142 (6) 1QH VI, lines 101/2
(3) Op.cit., p.141 (5) Op.cit., p.142

passage has any thoughts of Resurrection.

Taking such evidence as there is into consideration, it seems that it is very unlikely that the people of the Qumran sect ever held any doctrine of Resurrection. There was some kind of belief in a ³שִׁמְעוֹן אֶלְעָזָר , but there is no shred of evidence for a doctrine of the Resurrection of the body, as found in the Pauline Epistles. Compared with the absolute certainty of 1 Corinthians 15, the few passages in the Scrolls which are adduced as evidence of a doctrine of Resurrection, pale into insignificance. Paul was writing out of the depths of a personal experience, involving the salvation of his soul. To him it was of the essence that Christ had died and had arisen again.

Alfred Wikenhauser says:-

"That is why Paul argues with such intensity against those who deny the resurrection of the dead. It is the gate which leads to God's eternal kingdom, and without it the entire work of Redemption is valueless (1 Cor. 15,17f) ". (7)

In the thought of the Scrolls there is no such redemptive significance present. The Teacher of Righteousness was killed by the Wicked Priest. But he did not die, as Jesus: Christ did, for the redemption of Mankind, nor did he rise from the dead, as Christ did, to prove that Love was stronger than Hatred.

Let us take a closer look at the development of Paul's thought on the Resurrection. This can be seen in four stages.
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(7) "Pauline Mysticism", p.205

1. The Thessalonian Letters

1 Thess. 4,15, suggests that Paul, at least when he wrote this letter, expected that the End of all things would come soon; indeed that he himself would live to see it. This belief in the imminence of the Parousia, or, Second Coming of Christ, may be due to some of Christ's own words. It was also a widespread expectation in Jewish circles of the first century A.D., that the Messianic age was near. (8)

At the Parousia, the "dead in Christ", i.e. the Christians who have died before the Parousia, will rise first, and then the risen and the surviving Christians together will be gathered to Christ in the air. Thereafter, the elect will pass to endless fellowship with Christ in the transcendent Kingdom of God. (9) The whole point of this passage is to compare and contrast the fate of those who are, and those who are not to be alive at the Parousia. And it is in this context that Paul identifies himself with those who are to be still alive, speaking of them in the first person plural, whereas in the preceding two verses he had spoken of those who would be dead by the time the Parousia came in the third person plural.

Paul's phrase for those who are alive at the time of the Parousia, οἱ περιπαροῦσες, the survivors, in 1 Thess. 4,15, appears to be taken from Judaism. "qui derelicti/relicti sunt" is the equivalent for it in the existing Latin version of 2 Esdras 7,28; 13,24.

There is also a striking illustration of the thought of 2 Esdras in 1 Thess. 4,15. The Thessalonians, expecting the immediate advent of Christ, were overcome with grief for the fate of some members of the community who had already died, being under the impression that those who were alive at the time of the Parousia would have some advantage over the dead, and Paul finds it necessary to correct this impression. A passage in 2 Esdras shows that this idea of a greater blessedness being reserved for the survivors was a prevalent Jewish belief:-

"Understand, /

(8) cf. 2 Esdras 4, 26f; 14,11-12; Apoc.Baruch 23,7; 83,1;
(9) 1 Thess. 4, 15-17

"Understand, therefore, that those who are left are more blessed than those who have died". (10)

The Coming of the Messiah is to be preceded by suffering. (11) Paul warns the Thessalonians of suffering in 1 Thess 3,3-4. But the language here clearly indicates persecution at the hands of the Jews, which had actually taken place, or was imminent; and there is no ground for tracing a connection with the final woes. Nothing more is stated, than that "through many tribulations we must enter into the Kingdom of God".

The dead are spoken of by Paul as *οὗτοι κοιμῶμενοι*, (12) or, *οὗτοι κοιμῶντες*, (13). He seems to regard them as sleeping in their graves until the awakening (*ἐγερθεῖν*) at the time of resurrection. This idea of sleeping in the earth is found in 2 Esdras 7,32 and Apoc. Bar. 50,2.

The procedure of events in 1 Thess. is as follows:-

- (a) Descent of Christ from Heaven.
- (b) Resurrection of "the dead in Christ".
- (c) Rapture of the risen dead and living on clouds, to meet Christ in the air.
- (d) Final blessedness.

The most striking feature is (c), to which there appears to be no parallel in contemporary Jewish or Christian writers. The mention of the clouds in connection with the coming of Christ is parallel to the Son of Man in Daniel 7,13. But allusions to the clouds as vehicles by which, or the place to which, the quick and the dead are taken to meet Christ are, as yet, without illustration.

Paul retains the Jewish image of the trumpet blast as heralding the End; (14) cf. 2 Esdras 6,23 (mentioned in close connection with the opening of the books for judgement, v20, and the object is, apparently, as in Paul, to awaken the dead, and summon the living to judgement). The/

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- (10) 2 Esdras 13,24
- (11) 2 Esdras 5,1-12; 6,19-28; Apoc.Bar.70; Jubilees 23; Assumpt Moses 10.
- (12) 1 Thess. 4,13
- (13) 1 Thess 4,14.
- (14) 1 Thess, 4,16

The trumpeter in Jewish writings generally appears as the Archangel Michael, who may be referred to in 1 Thess. 4,16.

The idea that the dead will arise in their earthly bodies which will undergo no change (as Paul seems to imply) is found in Esdras and Baruch, and also in the Sibylline Oracles 4,180ff.

2. 1 Corinthians

As Adam and Christ are the inclusive representatives of the two humanities, the natural and the redeemed, so man's hope of resurrection depends on his solidarity with Christ, just as his mortality on his solidarity with Adam (15,22). The Resurrection of Christ and that of man are inseparably linked together (6,14). Only the righteous are raised, the true inference from Paul's teaching in Ch.15 about the resurrection body. According to 15,51-22, the Resurrection takes place at the Parousia. This does not consist with the preceding argument based on the analogy of the seed. That the resurrection begins immediately after the death of the believer is an implicit inconsistency here. With the resurrection of the righteous dead, and the metamorphosis of the living, Death is vanquished (15,26). But since Death is the "last enemy", (15), the End has come, when Christ resigns to His Father, the Kingdom He has ruled since His exaltation. The resurrection of the righteous dead occurs in a moment at the last trump (15,52). Then ensues the transformation of the righteous living. Then begins the consummated Kingdom of God in a new world. The "perfect" state has come (13,10), and the blessed see God face to face (13,12).

The entirely new element which meets us in this chapter is the necessity for the transformation of the earthly body before it can inherit immortality. Paul arrived at this conviction that a change was necessary before man could inherit immortality through a profound sense of the contrast between $\sigmaαρξ$ / $\piνευμα$, and a feeling of the close connection, if not 4 Maccabees 9,22; Ethiopic Enoch 51,4; 62,15; 108,11-12; Daniel 12,2-3.

C.A. Anderson/

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(15) 1 Cor. 15,26.

C.A. Anderson Scott has this to say:-

"In two passages he deals with certain of the new conditions, the form in which the personality which survives death is to be embodied. In the opening of the first of these (1 Cor.15,35), he betrays a certain impatience with the imagined question he proceeds to answer. It is so clear to him that the body or frame which shall be, is not the same as the body which is. He appears quite unconscious of the fact that he is propounding a new conception, equally far removed from Judaistic or Hellenistic speculation.

The Greek when he did adopt the belief in immortality was content to posit the immortality of the soul, neither raising nor answering any question as to the form which the soul might be supposed to take or have.

The Jew, on the other hand, when he adopted the belief in a life to come, following on a resurrection, thought of the whole man, body as well as the soul, as brought back to life. Even though the elements of which his body was composed had been scattered in decay, they would be reassembled at the last day. The vision of Ezekiel (37, 1-14), suggests the concrete form which was given to the expectation; and though in the intervening centuries, some may have moved to a more spiritual way of thinking concerning the future, it was entirely natural that the question should be raised at Corinth, 'with what body do they come?'

The body is the spiritual body; 'a body belonging to the spirit's sphere' ". (18)

3. 2 Corinthians and Romans

All scholars are agreed that there is a definite difference in Paul's views on Resurrection between the period of 1 and 2 Corinthians.

H. St. J. Thackeray writes:-

"There is a definite change or development in views. The most noticeable is that man is represented as passing immediately at the moment of death into the presence of Christ. Nothing is said of an intermediate state of sleep as in 1 Thess., nothing of a waiting for the change which will take place at the/

the moment of the Coming of Christ, as in 1 Corinthians. That the union of the soul with Christ takes place immediately after its separation from the body is still more explicitly stated in Philippians 1,23.

Again, the future life is more spiritually conceived, and instead of the idea of a glorified resurrection body, which we meet with in 1 Corinthians, we here seem to approach the doctrine of the immortality of the soul apart from the body (5,4-5)". (19)

F.F. Bruce, writing on Paul's Eschatology, says of 2 Corinthians:-

"When we come to 2 Corinthians 1-9, we are conscious of a further advance. Here as in 1 Cor. 6,14, Paul associates himself with those who will be raised from the dead, 2 Cor.4,14. But the resurrection principle is already at work in the servants of God; the spiritual body is even now being formed as the inner man undergoes daily renewal (2 Cor. 4,16), and Death will mean the immediate receiving of 'our heavenly dwelling' (2 Cor.5,2f)" (20)

For Paul the body was a dwelling place, or a garment. Paul refused to contemplate as part of God's plan, existence as a disembodied spirit. In his teaching about the resurrection life he asserts the continued existence of distinct and distinguishable personalities. The body that now is, is a body of humiliation, because through it, man has become subject to various shifting servitudes. The body that is to be, is a body "of glory" (21) and of Christ's glory, because like His body it is to be the expression and the instrument of moral perfectness, a glory "full of grace and truth". (22) Paul thus conceived of the ultimate destiny of the individual Christian and also of the corporate society in terms of the perfect consummation of character. (23)

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(19) "The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought",
p.128

(20) "Peake's Commentary", p.929

(21) 1 Cor. 15,43

(22) John 1,14

(23) 2 Cor. 11,2f., Ephesians 5,27

Two things could possibly have caused this change in Paul's thought. They are -

1. The experiences he had passed through in the interval between 1 and 2 Corinthians. It may be that the deadly perils in which Paul found himself shortly before the writing of these words (24), had led him to consider more urgently than before, what the believers' prospects at death would be. To be "away from the body" (25), would mean being "at home with the Lord". (26)

But if not at a fixed point at the end of the age, then certainly after the completion of this earthly life; it remains true that "we must all appear before the judgement seat of Christ; so that each one may receive good or evil, according to what he has done in the body". (27)

2. Influence of Hellenism, and the Wisdom literature

The metaphor of the earthly tabernacle and the idea of the body weighing down the soul, is found in Wisdom 9,15. The occurrence of the same expressions:- ἐπιγίγσκω, γυμνὰ σκευὴς βαρύνω, βαρύνω points to a literary connection. Note also the use of ἐλαφρότης (28) and καὶ περὶς ἐκκαθάρσει τὰ ἐπιγυρ (29). The word σκευὴς is confined in Biblical Greek to these two passages.

As regards the idea of the immortality of the soul, Wisdom regards the righteous as immortal and holds that the soul immediately after death is united with God. The righteous never die, but the soul passes at death to God. There can be little doubt that these ideas have influenced Paul's language. However, it is too much to say, that Paul has abandoned the hope of a bodily resurrection, as held by Palestinian Judaism, for the spiritual immortality of Wisdom and the Alexandrian School.

In the Letter to the Romans, Paul lays stress, not so much on the resurrection of the dead at the end-time, as on the/

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- (24) 2 Cor. 1, 8ff
 - (25) and (26) 2 Cor. 5, 8.
 - (27) 2 Cor. 5, 10
 - (28) Wisdom 9, 10; 2 Cor 5, 9
 - (29) Wisdom 9, 16; 2 Cor. 5, 6

the inward participation here and now. In Ch.6,vv.3-11, Paul explains this theory. Having been made sharers in the Death of Christ by our baptism, we are also made to share in His resurrection from the dead, into a new life. This experience is communicated through the Spirit, whose indwelling presence is the earnest of the full and final resurrection. (30). The Parousia is still seen as the day of Judgement and Review (31) and the day of Salvation and Glory (32). But it is seen also as the day for which all Creation eagerly awaits; the day when the universe will be liberated from its bondage to frustration and futility, to share the "glorious liberty of the children of God" (33)

4. Colossians and Ephesians

In these epistles, Christ is presented as the one in whom God proposes to reconcile the Universe to Himself (34) and bring it to the consummating unity (35). Yet at the end of his great period of letter writing, as at its beginning, his prime purpose in presenting the Parousia is to let it have its sanctifying effect on the present live of Christians on earth. The will be manifested in glory with Christ, their true life, when he appears (36). They must here and now reject what is unworthy of that prospect, and pursue what befits it (37).

In all this, Paul starts from a wide view of the facts, instead of from abstract reasoning. He leaves aside any question of the immortality of the soul. For him, the facts support a belief in the immortality of man as a living whole, if only he be in union with Christ. All that is known, makes it easier to believe that that future life will be for the nature of man as a whole, than to believe it will be for one part of it. To the Christian, an immortality for the soul only, is an almost intolerable supposition. He believes the body, as God made it, to be very good. Death is an enemy (38), not a friend who delivers the soul from the clogging burden of the body.

(30) Rom.8,11-23

(34) Col.1,20

(31) Rom.2,16; 14,10.

(35) Eph.1,9f

(32) Rom.8,17; 13,11.

(36) Col.3,4

(33) Rom.8,19f.

(37) Eph.4,1

(38) 1 Cor. 5,26

Paul, in his thinking and teaching on the Resurrection of the body remains true to his Pharisaic heritage and training.

H. St. J. Thackeray has this to say:-

"But long before his conversion, from his earliest years, the belief in a resurrection of the body had been held by Paul the Pharisee. It was one of the distinctive tenets of the sect to which he belonged; and he himself did not hesitate, if we may trust the speeches in the Acts, to avail himself of this link between his Pharisaic and his Christian days. He created a diversion when on his trial, by appealing to this point of contention between Pharisees and Sadducees (Acts 23,7); and, similarly, before Felix, he appealed to the belief that he shared with his accusers, that there would be a resurrection of the just and the unjust (Acts 24,15)". (39)

So also C. Anderson Scott:-

"It is noteworthy that when the apostle contemplates the future consummation of salvation, he borrows largely from the expectations and language of Jewish eschatology. This is specially marked in the Thessalonian Epistles (1 Thess.4, 13ff; 2 Thess 2, 1-12). But the really important feature in these passages is not to be found in the eschatological convention which the apostle takes over from the past, but in the modifications he introduces into traditional material. In this way we see confirmation of the suggestion that much in Paul's religious thinking is to be explained as 'transmuted eschatology'. The promises and predictions of the prophets, clothed to a large extent in the imagery of The Apocalyptists, had formed the furnishing of his mind. These promises, connected as they were with the salvation or deliverance of God's people, Paul had discovered to be fulfilled, transcendently fulfilled, in Christ.....

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But as for what still lay in the future, expectations which could not in the nature of things be submitted to the transmuting power of Christian experience, these Paul reproduced as they had been handed down to him.....

Paul's ideas of the End made the details of the Jewish Apocalyptic irrelevant. For Paul, the end was to be 'forever with Christ' (1 Thess. 4,17)". (40)

It might have been thought that some common ground, or point of contact would have revealed itself in Paul's Pharisaic background between himself and the people of Qumran. This is not so. What is seen is a sect who belonged rather loosely to the Pharisaic world, but who did not seem to believe in one of the cardinal tenets of that world's belief, viz. resurrection of the dead. As has been demonstrated, the references, which could conceivably show some such doctrine, are both few and inadequate to prove anything definite. It is surprising to find reputable scholars straining everything, not least the actual text, to prove that the Qumran people believed in resurrection. The evidence would seem to weigh against such a belief.

When the writings of Paul are examined, it is abundantly clear, even from the earliest letters, that a belief in a resurrection was central to the apostle's preaching. The contents of 1 Corinthians 15, leave the reader in no doubt of two things:-

- (1) That Paul believed that the Christian faith stood or fell by the Resurrection. That it was central to the Christian faith, and so to his preaching.
- (2) That resurrection was through Christ alone. In this letter and in Romans, Paul is quite emphatic, that the resurrection of a man's whole self comes only through union with the person of Christ.

It was this last element which was missing in Qumran. They had their Teacher of Righteousness, who died a martyr's death. They worshipped and adored him. But they did not identify themselves with him, in the way that the devout Christian did with Christ.

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And without that vital element of union, there could be no possibility of a doctrine of resurrection such as Paul held. Paul himself took the traditional teaching and belief of the Pharisees, and added to it this startling innovation of thought the idea of union with the Saviour, and so made Resurrection not a theological doctrine, but a living reality.

If similarities are looked for, between Paul and the people of the Scroll, then other aspects of the subject must be explored.

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2. The Doctrine of the Messiah in the Scrolls

The problem in the scrolls is whether or not there are one or two Messiahs to be distinguished. There is a wide variety of opinions on this problem, but only two scholars go into it in any depth, namely G.R. Driver in "The Judean Scrolls", and M. Black in "The Scrolls and Christian Origins".

The problem is neatly stated thus by Driver:-

"The doctrine of a single Messiah was only one side of the picture; for on the other side a doctrine of two Messiahs, a lay and a priestly Messiah, was evolved. This went back to the high-priest Joshua and the Davidic Zerubbabel who, however, although they were described as 'two sons of oil' (Zechariah 4, 14), never became Messianic figures in Rabbinic literature; and it was subsequently developed by the Targumists in their interpretation of Balaam's prophecy of the 'star out of Jacob' and the 'comet out of Israel' (Onkelos and Pseudo-Jonathan on Numbers 24, 17)." (41)

It is interesting to note how the writer begins to trace the doctrine in the writings of the Rabbis. This is important, since it is in the field of Rabbinic literature that a common link between the Scrolls and the works of Paul is most likely to be found. Driver says:-

"The doctrine of the two Messiahs was greatly elaborated in Rabbinic literature. The Rabbis, however, derived their doctrine not from the 'two sons of oil', but from the 'four smiths' whom the Lord had shown to the prophet; and Rabbi Simeon the Pious had already in the Tannaitic period (c.10-220 A.D.), declared that these were 'the Messiah of David and the Messiah of Joseph, Elijah and the Priest of Righteousness' ". (42)

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(41) Op.cit., p.464

(42) Op.cit., p.465

Driver obviously puts the date of the Rabbinic doctrine very much later than the majority of scholars. Hardly anyone would agree with his dating, and the present writer would join with the majority. Nevertheless, on the basis of the written text enshrining the thought of an earlier period, his comment is useful in showing what must have been the unwritten Rabbinic thought on this problem, at approximately the time of Paul. Driver almost admits this:-

".....the Covenanters, who came midway between the apocalyptists and the Rabbis as their views are represented in literature compiled for the most part long afterwards". (43)

Apart from the Rabbinical literature, the doctrine was also found in sectarian beliefs. Again to quote Driver:-

"The Samaritans.....recognised two Messiahs. The Messiah proper (ta'eb), who as Moses or Joshua redivivus would appear for the liberation of his people and the restoration of the Temple, and the high-Priest who would renew the sacrificial service. The ta'eb's functions were performed only once and then he would die, while those of the high-priest would continue; further, the ta'eb, though of priestly descent, might not be regarded as a real priest, and even as a king he was inferior to the high-priest. The date of the documents in which the Samaritan functions of the Messiah are expounded is uncertain, and they are probably in their present form relatively late; but the ideas enshrined in them almost certainly go back to the period of the Second Commonwealth. Accordingly, the conception of a dual authority, of a civil and a priestly authority, and that of two Messiahs were familiar enough to the Jews of the period of Roman domination; and two Messiahs recurred long afterwards on Qara'ite doctrine, in which they came to be identified under the common title of 'the Messiah of Righteousness' or 'Rightful Messiah' ". (44)

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(43) Op.cit., p.466

(44) Op.cit., p.467

Moving on to the Scrolls, Driver tends to play down the idea that the doctrine of the Messiah is elaborate. Most scholars think the contrary. The number of references to the Messiah in the Scrolls are many. Their contents are varied and confusing. And there emerges a picture of a Messiah, which can hardly be called "simple". However, to let Driver speak for himself:-

"The Scrolls contain no elaborate imagery in their picture of the Messiah. Their authors have no definite doctrine of a resurrection or a future life, and the ideas expressed in them on the subject of the Messiah approximate closely, except perhaps on one point, to those of orthodox Pharisaism. Accordingly in them the expected Messiah was not a supernatural figure who would miraculously rise from the grave to judge mankind and possess an everlasting kingdom, but a human deliverer who was confidently expected to appear within the lifetime of many still living and to reverse the disasters which they had experienced; this is expressed by saying that ' when he appears he will then smite all the Sons of Seth (2D VII, 9-10), i.e. all mankind, as a Targum interprets this expression (Onkelos on Numbers 24,17). This is almost the sole function which is certainly ascribed to the Messiah in the Scrolls. Their Messiah, therefore, is the Messiah of the 1st century A.D., coming to make their nation the rulers of the world". (45)

Two Messiahs are found in:-

- (1) The Manual of Discipline/Community Rule (1QS)
- (2) The appendix to 1 QS - The Messianic Rule/The Messianic Banquet Scroll (1QSa).
- (3) The Blessings/Benedictions (1QSB).
- (4) The War Scroll.

(1) The Manual of Discipline

1 QS IX :-

"They shall depart from none of the counsels of the Law to walk in the stubbornness of their hearts, but shall be ruled by the primitive precepts in which the men of the Community were first instructed until there shall come the Prophet and the

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Messiahs of Aaron and Israel."

Quite definitely there are two distinct Messiahs being thought of in this passage.

But note a pertinent point made by Driver:-

"Second, the point has been made that 'Aaron and Israel' are not intended as separate entities connoting respectively the priestly and lay elements in the community, and that consequently one of the two Messiahs will be a priestly and the other a lay Messiah, but that it is rather a composite designation of the whole community as consisting of priests and laymen". (46)

Support for this view may be found in 1 QS VIII:-

"When these are in Israel, the Council of the Community shall be established in truth. It shall be an everlasting Plantation, a House of Holiness for Israel, an Assembly of Supreme Holiness for Aaron."

Nevertheless, it is probably better to understand the quotation from 1 QS IX as depicting two distinct Messiahs.

(2) The Messianic Rule/Banquet. 1QSa
Section II

"He shall come at the head of the whole congregation of Israel with all his brethern, the sons of Aaron the Priests, those called to the assembly, the men of renown; and they shall sit before him, each man in the order of his dignity. And then the Messiah of Israel shall come and the chiefs of the clans of Israel shall sit before him, each in the order of his dignity, according to his place in their camps and marches. And before them shall sit all the heads of family of the congregation, and the wise men of the holy congregation, each in the order of his dignity.

And when they shall gather for the common table, to eat and drink new wine, when the common table shall be set for eating and the new wine poured for drinking, let no man extend his hand over the/

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the first fruits of bread and wine before the Priest; for it is he who shall bless the first fruits of bread and wine, and shall be the first to extend his hand over the bread, and all the Congregation of the Community shall utter a blessing, each man in the order of his dignity.

It is according to this statute that they shall proceed at every meal at which at least ten men are gathered together".

There is a little dubiety here on the number of Messiahs. On the face of things there is only one specifically mentioned in the text - the Messiah of Israel - but it is agreed by scholars that the Priest is to be regarded as a second Messiah. Driver says:-

"Two Messiahs also appear in the 'Messianic Banquet' scroll, on the assumption that the priest present at it is the High Priest and priestly Messiah. At this meal the priest (or High Priest) takes his place at the head of the whole congregation, including the chiefs of the Aaronic priesthood; after these the Messiah of Israel takes his place at the head of the whole congregation and of the leading men. Here the lay Messiah takes precedence, as commander in chief, over the chiefs of the clans who are the leaders of the nation. Further, at this meal no one may touch the bread and wine until the Priest has blessed the whole company of those present; thus the priestly Messiah takes precedence in ritual, the lay Messiah in secular matters". (47)

M. Black brings out the uniqueness of this passage:-

"The expression 'Messiah of Israel' is unique; it does not appear in the Old Testament, nor in any form of Judaism. It is probably a secular meaning; the Messiah is to be a mighty warrior for his people. The 'Anointed of Israel' is thus the 'Warrior Messiah' in the familiar and traditional Jewish sense; and this must be one of the earliest uses of the expression in a non-Biblical document. The regulations about precedence are clearly designed to put this secular head, the Anointed of Israel, in his proper place in the hierocracy, a place subordinate to the High Priest.

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That the Zadokite hierocracy envisaged a High Priest at its future 'ecclesiastical' head need not be questioned. But the claim that he was also viewed as a 'Messiah' in the same sense (though with different functions) as the 'Messiah of Israel' must.....be viewed with reserve. The fact that the High Priest takes precedence of the Messiah of Israel may mean very little; presumably he would do so in any Temple rite, or priestly function, but this does not mean that we are to regard the High Priest as in the strict sense a 'Messianic' figure. No doubt also in the ideal Temple of Ezekiel, the High Priest would take precedence of the Prince on 'ecclesiastical' occasions; but it is the Prince who is the deliverer of Israel and to the Prince alone belongs the honour of entering the Temple by the gate or 'porch' of the Lord. (Ezek. 44,1).

The figure who emerges clearly in 1 QSa - the Messiah of Israel - is the secular leader, the warrior Messiah; and the fact that he takes second place to the High Priest on certain occasions is not sufficient in itself to warrant the inference that the High Priest, too, was a 'Messianic' figure in the same sense". (48)

The present writer inclines more to the view expressed by G.R. Driver: There does seem to be an equation between the functions of the High Priest and the Messiah of Israel. There does seem to be a parallel drawn between the functions of a lay Messianic figure and an ecclesiastical one.

(3) The Blessings/Benedictions (1QSB)

These consist of:-

- (a) The Blessing of the Faithful.
- (b) The Blessing of the High Priest.
- (c) The Blessing of the Priests.
- (d) The Blessing of the Prince of the Congregation.

These texts have the same general character as 1 QS. In (d) a number of traditional Messianic features reappear. An example is the slaying of the ungodly with the breath of God's lips. Most important are the references to the Lion of Judah and the Messianic prophecy of Ge. 49,9; the allusion

allusion to the Messiah as the Sceptre of rulers, recalling the same prophecy, but particularly Num. 24,17.

The form of Messianic hope is clearly that of Ezekiel 45,46 and 48.

Note also the "Blessings of Jacob" (4Q):-

The sceptre shall not depart from the tribe of Judah, nor the ruler's staff from between his feet, until he comes to whom it belongs. And the people shall be in obedience to him.

Whenever Israel rules there shall (not) fail to be a descendant of David upon the throne. For the ruler's staff is the Covenant of kingship, (and the clans) of Israel are the feet until the Messiah of Righteousness comes, the Branch of David. For to him and his seed was granted the Covenant of kingship over his people for everlasting generations....."

Note also an extract from the document provisionally entitled 4Q Florilegium (called by G. Vermes in his "Pelican" edition of the Scrolls, "A Midrash on the Last Days"p.244), which appears to be an anthology of Biblical passages describing the future restoration of the House of David. Here again the Davidic Messiah is brought into relation with the life and thought of the Qumran community:-

"The Lord declares to you that he will build you a house. I will raise up your seed after you. I will establish the throne of his kingdom (for ever). I (will be) his father and he shall be my son. He is the Branch of David who shall arise with the Interpreter of the Law (to rule), in Zion (at the end of time). As it is written, I will raise up the tent of David that is fallen (Amos 9,11). That is to say, the fallen tent of David is he who shall arise to save Israel".

The "Interpreter of the Law", with whom the Davidic Messiah is to stand up is most probably the prophet of the end-time.

There is a certain vagueness apparent in the texts concerning the exact nature and function of the Interpreter and the Prophet. Both seem to be very much the same kind of figure; and both seem to/

to merge in a very blurred fashion with the figure of the Messiah. G.R. Driver has this to say:-

"The figures of the Interpreter of the Law and the Prophet represented attempts based on ancient history to depict the Rightful Teacher's dual functions of expounding Biblical prophecy and interpreting the ancestral Law in a Zadokite sense; certainly the passages in which they occur do little to suggest that they were distinct or separate persons. The lines, too, of the picture were either never clearly drawn, if only because the Biblical allusions from which they were derived were themselves, imprecise and uncertain in impart, or had become blurred by subsequent embellishment at once uncontrolled and totally divorced from reality. Not improbably the Covenanters themselves had formed no clear picture of the two figures either in themselves or in relation to the Rightful Teacher, while it is complicated by the Messianic framework into which it was fitted, and this vagueness was in keeping with the habits of the Rabbis who had little and often no regard for clarity, consistency or probability in their speculations.

Accordingly, the Interpreter of the Law and the Prophet seem originally and historically to have been distinct figures; but, insofar as they come to represent the Rightful Teacher, they tend to emerge insensibly with him in the Messiah. Most important of all, they were characteristic of Jewish thought in the 1st century A.D., when Moses and Elijah and possibly other figures from the Old Testament seem to have been expected as forerunners of the Messiah or as his companions at his appearance; as such they are found in the New Testament, e.g. at the interrogation of John the Baptist (Jnl,21); and at the Transfiguration of Jesus (Mt. 17,3-4, 10-12).

The ultimate identification of prophet and teacher and Messiah seems, then, to have been a product of the religious ideology of the 1st century A.D., when it is found both in Jewish circles and in the Church; and the Scrolls, which reflect it, must belong to this period". (49)

While/

While agreement with most of Driver's work can be reached, especially on the vagueness of the texts, disagreement arises by his glib equation of thought with equation of time. To say that the Scrolls must belong to this period, is to overlook the fact that the Church of Judaism could have borrowed from an earlier Scroll source, or even vice versa. However Driver's description of the vagueness of the texts is admirable.

(4) The War Scroll

The battle, envisaged in this scroll, is an ideal one, still to be fought out in the visionary future; and like so much else in the Qumran texts is again a kind of a blue-print for ideal conditions. In this case it is for an Apocalyptic or Messianic War which finally bring an end to oppressions and sufferings of Israel at the hands of one of the great Empires. Then, the true Israel, as represented by this priestly sect at Qumran and led by it, will be placed in the dominant world role now occupied by her enemies, the Kittim.

The whole Scroll, its contents and atmosphere, are based on the final Armageddon, drawing on the Gog prophecy of Ezekiel chapters 38 and 39. This is confirmed by the fact that the battle scene takes place with Jerusalem as its base, the priests and divisions of the army emerging for the battle from the gates of the city.

M. Black comments:-

"The War Scroll.....is thus a midrashic development, in relation to the writer's own times and experience.....with some striking apocalyptic features, of the description of the Day of the Lord in Ezekiel 38, when the exiles return to Jerusalem and are attacked by Gog and his allies. If we set the scroll (with Yadin) in the Roman period, the author may have had the investment and destruction of Jerusalem by the Roman armies vividly in mind.

The most characteristic feature of the scroll is its apocalyptic element. The earthly stage where the final conflict is fought out is the mountain or desert of Jerusalem, but the whole conflict is lifted on to the plane of the supernatural by/

in its account of this divine judgement to a Messiah. We may have little more.....than an apocalyptic developed out of the conception to be found in 2 Maccabees. At the same time it is clearly in the direction of the Messianism of the Ezra and Enoch apocalypses". (51)

Clearly, here we have a type of Messianic doctrine which must have been current in the days of Paul, brought up on the traditional apocalyptic of Daniel and Ezekiel, in which this kind of Enochian Messiah is envisaged.

One Messiah only is found in the Damascus Rule, or Zadokite Document (ZD). He is the "Messiah of Aaron and Israel". In all there are five clear references to this figure:-

1. Manuscript B, 2:-

"None of the men who enter the New Covenant in the Land of Damascus and who again betray it and depart from the fountain of living waters, shall be reckoned with the Council of the People or inscribed in its Book from the day of gathering in of the Teacher of the Congregation until the coming of the Messiah out of Aaron and Israel".

Note that this seems to depict only ONE Messiah.

2. Manuscript B, 8:-

"The humble of the flock are those who watch for Him. They shall be saved at the time of the Visitation whereas the others shall be delivered up to the sword when the Anointed of Aaron and Israel shall come, as it came to pass at the time of the former visitation concerning which God said by the hand of Ezekiel: they shall put a mark on the foreheads of those who sign and groan (Ezek.9,4). But the others were delivered up to the avenging sword of the Covenant".

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3. Manuscript A, 13.

"Those who follow these statutes in the age of wickedness until the coming of the Messiah of Aaron and Israel shall form groups of at least ten men, by Thousands, Hundreds, Fifties and Tens (Exod. 18,25). And where the ten are, there shall never be lacking a priest learned in the Book of Meditation; they shall all be ruled by him."

4. Manuscript A, 13.

"This is the Rule for the assembly of the camps during all (the age of wickedness, and whoever does not hold fast to) these (statutes) shall not be fit to dwell in the Land (when the Messiah of Aaron and Israel shall come at the end of the days) ".

5. Manuscript A, 14.

"This is the exact statement of the statutes in which (they shall walk until the coming of the Messiah) of Aaron and Israel who will pardon their iniquity".

Always the reference is to the "Messiah of Aaron and Israel". He is the warrior figure who is to come at the period of divine visitation, when the poor of the flock are to escape and the rest delivered up to the sword. There is nothing conclusive about his supernatural character. There are certain problems associated with him:-

1. The change in title from "Messiah of Israel" of 1QS_a, to "Messiah of Aaron and Israel" in ZD.

Perhaps the second title is to emphasise the fact that, while the Messiah is the Divine Prince, he is to rule within the hierocratic Israel of Ezekiel's prophecies.

2. More difficult is the change from the plural of 1QS, to the plural of ZD.

This may reflect a change in doctrine, when a High Priestly "Messiah" ceased to hold any interest for the sect. Perhaps too much importance has been attached to the plural reading in/

in IQS; it may be a scribal error, or simply a genuine general reference to Israel's future leaders, High Priests and secular rulers.

G.R. Driver sees the problem as one Messiah with two functions, a priestly and a political. He says:-

"The Zadokite Document belongs to the period in which only one Messiah was expected, and it puts his appearance or re-appearance in the period of 'wickedness and ungodliness' (Ms.A,13), i.e. the period of Roman rule after the destruction of Jerusalem (for the 'kingdom of wickedness' denotes the Roman Empire after the destruction of Jerusalem), within which the forty years from the 'gathering' of the Rightful Teacher would fall.

The expected Messiah is not necessarily or everywhere the Rightful Teacher murdered on the Day of Atonement but may be any Teacher preceding or succeeding him; for as the designation of both Judah and Menahem, father and son, as 'teacher of wisdom'- *סופרים* - implies a succession or line of teachers, presumably of the same family, so that of 'Messiah' as used in the Scrolls may have been hereditary, being applied to a succession of such teachers. When one died or was killed, another member of the family would take his place; and as 'the end of days' obviously did not come but was necessarily postponed to a future period, so the attributes of the Messiah were transferred from one Teacher, when he obviously had failed to fulfil the expectations of his follows, to a succession who might be expected to arise after 40 years, i.e. in the course or at the end of another generation". (52)

While Driver may well be justified in making his deductions, the fact is that the text is so metaphorical and tinged, indeed more, it is steeped, in the language of Apocalyptic, that it makes any identification of figures impossible. Driver has just as good a chance of being right as anyone else holding a completely contrary view. What is being dealt with here is not a "factual" text like the Manual of Discipline, but a "mythological" text dealing with dreams and visions. There does emerge a picture of one/
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Messiah, embodying the dual roles in his one person, roles of a priestly and a lay nature. But it is doubtful if we can go any further than that, and say that it represents a development of thought among the Qumran people. It is more than likely that the ideas of the Zadokite scroll existed side by side with those of the other scrolls. That one part of the sect adhered to a doctrine of one Messiah, while another adhered strictly to the two Messiah doctrine. That the doctrine was never resolved into one general doctrine adhered to by all is more than likely. In any event, the various doctrines show that the atmosphere of thought among the Qumran people was in line with the Apocalyptic of the Old Testament period, and was closely linked with the teachings of the Rabbis, and orthodox Pharisaism.

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Paul's thought on the Messiah

It is in this section of his thought, that the essential Jewishness of Paul is most clearly demonstrated. He is very much in line with traditional Jewish thought and teaching; although this is not to deny the fact that he goes beyond the thought of his fathers, and overlays it with many purely Christian feelings and ideas.

For Paul, the Messiah has come; the Messiah who should have come at the end of this present age. Now, in the present, this figure has become a part of human life, in the person of the Crucified and Risen Christ. Despite this firm belief, Paul still retained the thought that the End of History is delayed, and it was unknown how long this delay would last. Paul, therefore, wrote his letters for the intervening time, giving directions to the missionary churches, and explained to believers the meaning of the critical age in which they were living. He viewed the Messianic events within the framework of Jewish expectation; but since, in his view, things had developed differently from that which Jewish expectation foresaw, he had to give a full reinterpretation of the change and its meaning. This meant that the earthly, political Messiah of traditional Judaism became a heavenly figure in the future.

H.J. Schoeps writes:-

".....Thus the Messiah, which originally denoted only the Israelite king as the anointed vicar of God, became a figure destined to appear in the future. At the same time, the process of mythical embroidering, of transfiguration in an unearthly light, began, although in our extant traditions the stage of a real incarnation of God, conceptually fixed, was never reached".
(53)

Accordingly, there is always a basic political overtone to the meaning of the word "Messiah", in the days of Paul, and the Qumran sect. But Paul was by no means the first to transfer the political Messiah to a more spiritual sphere. This process had begun/
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begun some centuries previous to Paul, in the general cultural atmosphere of the Near East. Schoeps explains:-

".....there is distinguishable from the 2nd century, B.C., another more supernatural trend of eschatological expectation, possibly arising from Persian influence. According to this second trend of thought, the Messiah was in fact awaited as a Saviour and his appearance was expected to coincide with the final events of a cosmic catastrophe. We refer to the eschatology of the book of Daniel, which was adopted by Enoch and IV Ezra and receives plainer outlines and colours only in those later writings. This body of apocalyptic literature was much more calculated to harmonize with the speculation of the Apostle Paul".
(54)

The natural outcome of this Persian influence was the realization of a Doctrine of the Two Aeons - this present aeon and the future aeon. Traditional, orthodox Judaism kept these two aeons completely separate. Paul subscribed to the basic doctrine, but changed it by viewing that the future aeon as already a reality in the present, in consequence of the resurrection of Jesus from the dead. From the future is still to be expected only the consummation, consisting in the final victory over death, the last judgement which will take place at the return of the Messiah (55), and finally in the restoration of complete sovereignty to God (56), so that God in the aeon to come may be all in all. For Paul the Messianic Kingdom has already begun, the Messiah-Son of Man has already come into the World, the resurrection of the dead already in operation; what is still to take place is only the transformation of the Creation from perishability to imperishability, the final destruction of the power of Death, the Parousia and the Last Judgement.

It is certain for Paul the two ages were very much intermingled. Again, Schoeps is best on this:-

"Thus/

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(54) op. cit., p.93

(55) 1 Cor. 4,5; 2 Cor. 5,10.

(56) 1 Cor. 15, 24.

"Thus it becomes clear that Paul could only link up with that form of eschatology which transferred the resurrection of the dead to the end of the Messianic age (cf. Baruch Ch. 20-30; 40, 3; IV Ezra 7, 26-44). The Messianic Age itself, the age of the apostle, then becomes an interim stage, a transition to the 'olam habba' ". (57)

Here, the connection with the apocalyptic and intertestamental literature begins to be seen, and a connection with the Scrolls. Schoeps goes on to say:-

"This doctrine of the two aeons may be shown to exist in apocalyptic literature from the 1st century B.C. (The Ethiopic Enoch and Slavonic Enoch). The interim period of the Messianic Age has been described in detail in IV Ezra 7, 26 ff, and the Apocalypse of Baruch 29-30, as a mere preliminary period of 400 years, fulfilling nationalistic-political hope of opulence and salvation, and leading into the transcendent coming aeon.

Older traditions concerning the days of the Messiah fix a very short interval for the interim period, namely forty years. So too in the Damascus Document (9, 29), there is 40 years between the death of the 'unique teacher' and the appearance of 'the Messiah of Aaron and Israel'. Likewise we meet with forty years as a final respite, followed by the destruction of all evil, in a recently discovered fragment at Qumran on the theme of Psalm 37, 10. Lastly, the final war against the Sons of Darkness is said to be destined to last forty years.

Now these indications of a short interim period found in the older stage of tradition are of extreme interest because they show that the early Tannaitic idea of a short preliminary period preceding the coming aeon was known in Paul's circle, and was fairly widespread. If Paul and his followers supposed that they were living in this interim period, which would soon be concluded by the return of the Messiah and the resurrection of the dead, there was nothing unusual about the supposition". (58)

All/

(57) Op.cit., p.98

(58) Op.cit., p.99

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All the evidence from Paul's letters, especially their ethical content, would seem to back up what Schoeps is saying. His views on marriage, especially in the earlier correspondence, such as 1 Corinthians 7, show that he was thinking in terms of an interim period. In his conception of the interim period as a relatively short time, Paul is in line with men like Aquiba and Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, probably envisaging forty years as the maximum period. J. Klausner points out some interesting links with Rabbinic Judaism:-

"Paul believes in a Parousia in his own lifetime. It is possible that there is a connection between this 'Messianic belief', as it was transferred from a Jewish to a Christian setting, and the Aramaic Kaddish, which contains these typical words:-

'May He establish His Kingdom during Your life and during your days, and during the life of all the House of Israel, even speedily and at a near time' ". (59)

Also:-

"Paul says plainly that 'the time is shortened' 'for the fashion of this world passeth away' (1 Cor. 7, 29f). With great solemnity, Paul says:- 'Behold, I tell you a mystery.....' (1 Cor. 15, 51-2). Here we have the 'trumpet of Messiah' of the Talmud, where the expression refers not to a trumpet blown by the Messiah himself but to a trumpet heralding the Days of the Messiah; likewise, the 'birth pangs of Messiah' means not sufferings of Messiah himself, but the sufferings in the Days of the Messiah. According to the prayer Shemoneh 'Esreh (in the Babylonian and Palestinian recensions, Benediction X), God himself will 'sound the great horn for our freedom'; this blast is to announce the ingathering of the exiles and not specifically the resurrection of the dead. But Judaism also knows the connexion of the trumpet blast, 'the last trumpet' - since there is also a trumpet which is not the last - with the resurrection of the dead. And although this idea of the blowing of the trumpet for the resurrection of the dead is found principally in Hebrew literature later than the period of Paul, it/

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it is not to be thought that it was borrowed from Christianity. Undoubtedly, such an idea already existed in the time of Paul, and he borrowed it from his environment; it is only by chance that it is not mentioned in the earlier Hebrew literature. If the blowing of the trumpet for the liberation of the exiles were not mentioned in the Shemoneh 'Esreh, we should be prone to think this idea later also". (60)

Note also:-

"And there is a Talmudic Baraitha on the World to Come, a Baraitha which is repeated many times in Talmud and Midrash, being, apparently, from early times:-

"In the world to come there is neither eating nor drinking; no procreation of children or business transactions; no envy or hatred or rivalry; but the righteous sit enthroned, their crowns on their heads, and enjoy the lustre of the Shekinah'.

This picture is much like Paul's words about the Kingdom of Heaven, in Romans 14,17, except that here, the Messiah takes no special place". (61)

While Paul stands in line with his Rabbinic forbears and contemporaries, he begins to diverge from them in the matter of resurrection. It would seem that Scheeps is right, when he postulates TWO resurrections in Pauline doctrine.

He says:-

"....it has been far too little noted that Paul, who with his apocalyptic-rabbinic doctrine of the two aeons sees Death conquered only at the close of the Messianic Kingdom, was simply compelled to assume two different resurrections.....

.....if with the death of Jesus the passing away of the old world has begun and the change of aeons has been effected, then this implies that His resurrection has ushered in the Messianic Age. With His Parousia there will take place at the close of the interim kingdom the general resurrection of the dead, and its centre will be the new Jerusalem in Palestine. Those who have died previously will enter into the new resurrection body, together with believers who survive to this point of time. All will then in place of the old body of dust receive a σῶμα πνευματικόν (1 Cor. 15,45-7). Hence/ (60) Op.cit.,pp.538-9 (61) Op.cit.,p.544

Hence some will be invested with a new $\delta\omicron\varsigma\alpha$ without intermediate stage, others only after having been divested through Death (2 Cor. 5,2 and 4). The former will be the elect of the last generation who survive to this event. Here are doubtless two ways of looking at resurrection.

Paul calls it a $\rho\upsilon\omicron\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ (1 Cor. 15,51), that at the sounding of the last trumpet those who still live will experience transformation. At the same moment the dead will also rise (v.52). After death, as the last enemy, has been destroyed (v.26; an act in the Last Judgement itself, according to Revelation 20,14), the Kingdom will be committed by the Son to the Father. Thus in 1 Corinthians Paul sees the last things happen in a specific order, in fact he speaks plainly of a gradation of resurrections; $\delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\nu\ \tau\eta\ \iota\delta\iota\alpha\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ (1 Cor. 15,23). The committal of the Kingdom to the Father is thus the third and last $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ ". (62)

It is undeniable that for Paul the figure of the Risen Christ and Eschatology were inextricably intertwined. It was because of the fact of the Resurrection of Christ, the long awaited Messiah, that he could think in terms of a Second Coming, a "Parousia", an end to the present aeon.

W.D. Davies has this to say:-

".....that Paul's interpretation of the Christian dispensation becomes understandable only in the light of his conviction that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah of Jewish expectation, and it follows naturally from this that eschatology was an essential element in his thoughts and not merely an appendix to it. The encounter with the living Christ, the awareness of living in a new creation, the influx of Gentiles into the true Israel, the experience of a new moral Exodus, the discovery of a new Torah and the advent of the Spirit, all these for Paul were eschatological experiences". (63)

There has always been a suspicion that in this part of Paul's thinking he has given a personal twist to the primitive theology of the Church. It has been said that Paul transformed the earthly, historical Jesus, into a purely spiritual, unhistorical Messiah. Thus it could be claimed that the present day church rests on Paulinism, rather than on the message of Jesus. Schoeps

(62) Op.cit., p.104

(63) "Paul and Rabbinic Judaism", p.285

Schoeps at one point seems to agree with this type of thought:-

"Hence the figure of the Messiah must undergo a transformation in Paul's thought.....The Logia of Jesus recede behind the authority of the facts that Jesus had risen, though the Kingdom has not yet come.....The risen 'spiritual' Christ belongs no more to the realm of the fleshy sons of Adam. For the aeon of the $\pi\acute{\nu}\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ that is now dawning, the earthly life of Jesus is no longer relevant. From the Risen Christ believers have received the Holy Spirit as a guarantee $\acute{\alpha}\pi\pi\alpha\beta\omega\nu$ (2 Cor.1,22; 5,5): as first-fruits, $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\rho\chi\eta$, (Rom.8,23) of the consummation which is to come. With the resurrection of the $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ a new act of the drama of saving history has opened, the transformation of this aeon into the future aeon, of earthly existence into the unearthly has already begun. In Jesus, the first man has arisen from the dead, an event which constitutes a token and a place that the ultimate has in fact been inaugurated.

These considerations now make it plain that Paul substantially transformed the message of Jesus himself". (64)

Then again he says:-

"The exalted Christ of Pauline thought became the Saviour of Christian theology and of the Christian Church. This Pauline doctrine was born out of the need of a church which lay between the Resurrection and the Return of the Lord. To propose to reconstruct from it the portrait of the original Jesus would be an impossible undertaking. For Paul, He had become the $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ the Lord of the Worlds, and must be viewed as such. But that it should be possible for each individual Christian during his lifetime to enter into a real relation with this $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ a relation effecting salvation - was Paul's firm intuition from the start. And this is the basic eschatological implication which he gave to his doctrine of the sacraments". (65)

On the whole Schoeps seems to take the view that there was a definite shift of emphasis, from the historical Jesus to the exalted Christ. This is to a certain extent true; but it must also be said that Paul managed to retain a firm grip on the figure of the historical Jesus. The/

The Christ he preached was no disembodied spirit. The Christ was always the Jesus who had walked the earth in human flesh, and lived among his fellow men.

J.S. Stewart, in his "A Man in Christ", has many relevant passages, which substantiate this point. Despite his liking for rather ornate and heavy language, the truth of his content is virtually unassailable.

Stewart places, quite rightly, most of his arguments on the basis that Paul was not so much of an originator, as a receiver, of existing Church traditions. On the point of the "shift of emphasis", he says:-

"The charge that Paul changed the character of the original Gospel is baseless. At all points, not least in his Christology, he was true to the mind of Jesus. By the grace of God within him he was able to draw out the overwhelming conclusions to which the life and teaching of Christ had pointed.....It was Paul, more than any other, who kept the new religion pure and uncontaminated and faithful to its great Original and Object, in days when danger and corruption were threatening it on every side". (66)

Note also these words:-

"It is a point of first class importance that there never was any disagreement between the primitive Christian community and Paul on the ground of Christology. This fact has not received the emphasis it deserves. Criticisms of various kinds the apostle to the Gentiles had to meet from his fellow Christians, and more than once there was a serious clash of opinion; but the one point on which he seems never to have been challenged was his doctrine of Christ". (67)

Further on the same page he states, with an air of finality:-

"The fact is, those who speak as if Paul were the creator of Christology are forgetting that there was a Church and a Christian mission before ever Paul was converted".

A statement such as that sums up the whole problem admirably/.

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(66) Op.cit., p.297

(67) Op.cit., p.294.

Stewart is, at great pains to prove, what is agreed by this writer, that there was no real division between Paul's view of Jesus as Historical and as Spiritual. It may well be that Paul in his pre-Christian state had seen the earthly figure of Christ, It is hard to deny that growing up beside the Christian Church, he had not heard the name of Jesus mentioned by some of those who had known Him in the days of his flesh. Stewart sees this problem summed up in Paul's use of the terms, or names, "Jesus" and "Christ". He says:-

"Sometimes Paul uses 'Jesus' of the heavenly one (1 Cor. 9, 1; 2 Cor. 4, 11)., and 'Christ' of the human figure (Rom. 5, 6; 2 Cor. 10, 1). This is another witness to the truth that we are maintaining, namely, that for Paul's heart and mind and conscience there was no hiatus between Christ in glory and the Jesus who 'had lived on earth abased' (Weiss). That the man who knew the former so well deliberately ignored the latter is clearly incredible alike to psychology and religion". (68)

As to Paul's knowledge of the historical Jesus, he says:-

"Whether Paul had seen Jesus with his own eyes or not, he was thoroughly cognizant of the facts of Jesus' life. Apart from the information which he was able to gather in his persecuting days, his contact with the apostles after his conversion would certainly be turned to good account". (69)

For Paul, Jesus was the Messiah, the *Kypios*, who ushered in the new age, here and now. Stewart continues:-

"That he recognised Jesus as the long promised Messiah goes without saying. The day of Damascus settled that. The first and fundamental truth which flashed its way into his soul in that tremendous hour was that Jesus was alive. This could only mean that God Himself had set the seal to Jesus's Messianic claim". (70) It was this claim, above everything else which made Christianity new and different from all other contemporary faiths, including orthodox Judaism. Stewart further states:-

"If/

(68) Op.cit., p.284 **{70}** Op.cit.:; p.298

(69) Op.cit., p.282

"If Paul and his fellow Christians had gone to work in this way, simply fitting Jesus into already existing scheme of things, they would have been implicitly confessing that Christianity to them was no more than a Jewish sect.....Christianity was not a variety of Judaism that had cleverly made room for Jesus. It was a new thing down to the very foundations". (71)

For Paul, Jesus was all in all, He it was who had purchased Man's redemption from the bondage of Sin, with His own blood. Exalted or not, Jesus was the Messiah, the one through whom the believer is not only redeemed from his sin, but is also brought into direct touch with ultimate reality.

In comparing the two treatments of the Messiah, in Qumran and Paul, it can be said that there is a likeness in that both are "exalted", spiritual figures. Whether or not one or two Messiahs are present in the Scrolls, at least one part of the Messiah's person is a spiritual one, descended from the priestly branch of the Sect. He it is who will preside at the Messianic Banquet, when the New Age is ushered in. This is remarkably like Pauline thought. For Paul, Jesus the Messiah has brought in this new age, here and now, and the believer can become a part of it in the present, through union with Christ. There are differences, too. In Paul there is no real notion of Jesus as a political Messiah, such as is found in the Scrolls. Jesus is always the Messiah of Peace and Love, who turned away from war and political means to achieve His ends. Jesus will not return to lead an army of fighting men. He will return to lead a band of men and women who have given up these very things, which the people of Qumran craved so violently. Note also, that in the Scrolls there is no conception of the Messiah dying as a means of redemption for the sins of Mankind.

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(71) Op.cit., p.300

The whole thought of Paul revolves round that central point. Also there is in the Scrolls no idea of the Resurrection of the Messiah, or rather of the Messiah as a means of resurrection for mortal men.

The common ground which links Paul with the Scrolls is in the field of orthodox Judaism. And, in this case, any such ground is of little account. Resemblances are superficial. For the people of the Scrolls, the idea of a Messiah emerged out of the apocalyptic thought and political aspirations of sectarian Judaism. While for Paul, the Messiah emerged from the rich and impregnable testimony of the experience of a living faith in a crucified and risen Saviour, and Lord. There can be said that both Paul and the Qumran people belonged to the same spiritual background. Both had a place for a Messiah in their lives and scheme of thought. For the Qumran sect the Messiah was a "by-product" of their faith. For Paul it was the pivot and central keystone.

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3. The Final Battle, and the End of All Things

The Scroll entitled "The War Rule", lays down very definite regulations for the final battle. While there are signs that it was composed with a definite, contemporary enemy in view, i.e. the Kittim, whose identity seems to be a matter of inspired guesswork and nothing else, it is true to say that it is also a theological peice of work. The war, with which it is concerned, symbolizes the eternal struggle between the spirits of Light and Darkness. The phases of the battle are fixed in advance, its plan established, and its duration predetermined. The opposing forces are equally matched and only by the intervention of the "might hand of God" (72) is the balance between them to be disturbed when He deals an "everlasting blow" (73), to "Satan and all the host of his kingdom" (74). After this war, the New Age will dawn, the Messianic Rule will begin.

Paul has no idea of such a catastrophic war as heralding the Age of the Messiah. It will come "as a thief in the night" (75), without warning or anything. The coming of the Messiah will be preceded by suffering (76). Paul warns the Thessalonians of suffering (77). But his language here clearly indicates persecution at the hands of the Jews which had taken place or was imminent; and there is no ground for tracing a connection with the final woes. Nothing more is said than that "through many tribulations we must enter into the Kingdom of God" (78). Resurrection of the faithful will take place, the Messiah will re-appear, and the New Aeon will be a reality.

There is thus no real connection, beyond a superficial one, between the War Scroll and the Pauline Epistles.

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(72) War XIII: (73) and (74) War, XVIII

(75) 1 Thess. 5,2.

(76) 2 Esdras 5,1-12; 6,19-28; Apoc.Baruch 70; Jubilees 23; Assumpt. Moses 10.

(77) 1 Thess. 3,3-4

(78) Acts 14,22.

Summing up and Conclusion

Both the Dead Sea Scrolls **and** the Letters of Paul could be classified as "Eschatological Documents".

The Scrolls are reflecting the thought of a sect of orthodox Judaism who lived in constant expectation of a long awaited New Age, when the Sons of Darkness would be put to flight, and the Messiah, or Messiahs, would come. The Letters of Paul, can be thought of as 'Eschatological' from two view-points.

First, Paul is reflecting in these letters the spirit of the first Christian believers, who believed that in the person of Jesus of Nazareth the final Eschaton had become a reality. In Him were fulfilled all the promises of the past and the present. In Him God had broken into History, and the Kingdom of God had come.

For Paul, eschatology was "realised" in Jesus the Christ.

Second, Paul is thinking in terms of a Last Judgement still to come in the future; an end to this present world, as the interim nature of his ethical judgements, in particular, show. Then the Risen Lord, Christ, will reappear in His glory; the dead will be raised, and the New Messianic Age will begin.

Looked at like that, it can be said, that from the Scrolls and Paul, there can be extracted some measure of common material and thought. In other words, there is a general parallel, between the two sets of documents. Both are products of a common background. Both share the same heritage of Old Testament, and Apocalyptic literature dealing with the Coming of the Messiah and the New Age or Aeon. But in matters of detail, there are too many differences to prove literary or even thought dependence. The fact that in the Scrolls there is little evidence of a Doctrine of Resurrection; while in Paul the Resurrection is absolutely central. In fact, Paul may well have not one, but two, distinct doctrines of Resurrection. In the concept of the Messiah there is more of a drawing together. However, this may be due to the fact that it is at this point that the two draw most heavily from their common Judaistic material. Paul's Messiah is a much more spiritual person than that of the priestly Messiah of the Scrolls. While there is no counterpart in Paul to the Scrolls' political Messiah.

Nevertheless, it is worth noting that both DO HAVE a "Spiritual" Messiah.

As regards the details of the End of all Things, the Scrolls see this in terms of a Battle, as reflected in the military contents of The War Scrolls. Paul see it in terms of the return of the Messiah, ushering in an era of Peace and Love.

As a member of the Pharisaic party, Paul could not have failed to have been cognizant of the more extreme eschatological ideas which were circulating at the time of the Roman occupation of Palestine. It is almost inevitable that he must have been aware of what the Qumran sect thought on this question. It may be that his own writings are a partial answer to these more extreme views. In the last resort, the most that can be said is that the kind of eschatological ideas found in Paul and the Scrolls give no evidence of direct contact. The only contact is an indirect one. Both were making use of the ideas common at the time. The Scrolls preferred, for the most part, to think in terms of politics and warrior Messiahs. Paul preferred to think in terms of spiritual matters and an Exalted Messiah, who came with no weapons, but that of Love.

The Scrolls and the Letters of Paul are different developments of a common heritage of thought.

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CHAPTER FOUR

"The Sacraments in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pauline Epistles".

PART I:- THE SACRAMENTAL MEAL IN QUMRAN, JUDAISM AND PAUL

The Sacramental Meal in the Qumran Texts

A casual examination of the texts from Qumran, as representing the belief and practices of the Essene sect referred to by Josephus, will at once reveal that the central feature of their life was the Common Meal. It must, however, be held in mind that Josephus is describing the order in the last stages of its existence, about 50-70 A.D., while the Qumran texts were probably reflecting a state of life some 100 or 150 years earlier.. Thus, differences between the Qumran texts and the writings of Josephus could be accounted for by the development of the order within this period.

The period of novitiate, some two to three years, culminated in a final taking of vows, plus admission to the common meal of the community, a step which was recognised to be the mark of a full member of the sect. That such significance was attached to the meal would imply that there was some special religious meaning attached to it; or, in other words, it was looked upon as a sacramental meal. Josephus says this about the meal:-

"When they have taken their seats in silence, the baker serves out the loaves to them in order, and the cook sets before each one a plate with a single course on it. Before meat the priest says a grace, and none may partake until after the prayer. When breakfast is ended, he pronounces a further grace; thus at the beginning and at the close they do homage to God as the bountiful giver of life. Then laying aside their raiment, as holy vestments, they again betake themselves to their labours until the evening. On returning they sup in like manner, and any guests who have arrived sit down with them ". (1)

From the fact that they dressed in "holy vestments" for the partaking of their meals, it would seem that they regarded every common meal as something of a sacrament.

The Manual of Discipline, however, seems to be describing a more exclusive kind of meal. It is a meal reserved for those who have passed through the periods of novitiate; Section V, par 6:-

".....They shall not enter the water to partake of the pure Meal of the saints, for they shall not be cleansed unless they turn from their wickedness; for all who transgress are unclean....."

(1) "Wars of the Jews", II, 130-132.....

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Equally, one form of punishment was exclusion from the meal; Section VII, par. 2:-

"If he has spoken in anger against one of the priests inscribed in the Book, he shall do penance for one year and shall be excluded from his soul's sake from the pure Meal of the congregation....."

But the most important part of the Manual with respect to this meal is Section VI., pars 4 and 5:-

"They shall eat in common and pray in common and deliberate in common.

Wherever there are ten men of the Council of the Community there shall not lack a priest among them. And they shall all sit before him according to their rank and shall be asked their counsel in all things in that order. And when the table has been prepared for eating, and the new wine for drinking, the Priest shall be the first to stretch out his hand to bless the first fruits of the bread and new wine.

The Meal is described as part only, although definitely an integral part, of the communal activities of the sect, - its worship, its sharing of goods, its common deliberations, study of Sacred Scripture, and its Vigils. Dr. Kuhn of Heidelberg has done much work on this aspect of the sect's life. He starts from the assumption that the people of Qumran are to be identified with the Essenes, and his examination of the Qumran texts consists mainly of a comparison between them and the account of the Sacred Meal of the Essenes in Josephus. From this he brings out several interesting points of similarity, e.g. both/

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(1) "Wars of the Jews", II, 130-132.

both are sacred meals preceded by a priestly blessing. But there are differences, too, to be noted; the Essenes of Josephus are supplied with a cooked dish, while there is no mention of wine being served to them.

From the Qumran texts themselves it seems clear that the meal was no ordinary meal of the community, but one which was strictly confined to those full members of the sect who belonged to the inner Council of the Community. The opening words of IQS, VI:- "They shall eat together.....", must be taken to refer to ALL members of the community, along with communal worship and deliberation. But the regulations set out for the sacred meal described in the next line or so seem to apply to the members of the Council of the Community only:- "In every place.....where there are ten men of the Council of the Community.....". This contrasts well with the statement further on in the same paragraph: "Let the Many keep awake together.....". Obviously a clear-cut distinction is being made between the Council members who may participate in the meal, presided over by a priest, and the Many.

Thus it would seem true to say that this was no ordinary meal but a special cult meal in which only sectarians of the highest rank, the Council, were allowed to participate; these were probably what was meant by a "full" member of the sect.

Another form of this sacramental meal is described in the scroll, "The Messianic Rule", Sect. 2 pars. 3 and 4:-

"He shall come (at) the head of the whole congregation of Israel with all (his brethern, the sons) of Aaron the Priests, (those called) to the assembly, the men of renown; and they shall sit (before him; each man) in the order of his dignity. And then (the Mess)iah of Israel shall come, and the chiefs of the (clans of Israel) shall sit before him, (each) in the order of his dignity, according to (his place) in their camps and marches. And before them shall sit all the heads of (family of the congregation) and the wise men of (the holy congregation), each in the order of his dignity.

And/

.....

And(when) they shall gather for the common table, to eat and (to drink) new wine, when the common table shall be set for eating and the new wine (poured for) drinking, let no man extend his hand over the first fruits of bread and wine before the Priest; for (it is he) who shall bless the first-fruits of bread and wine, and shall be the first (to extend)his hand over the bread. Thereaf the Messiah of Israel shall extend his hand over the bread, (and) a the Congregation of the Community (shall utter a) blessing, (each m in the order) of his dignity.

It is according to this statute that they shall proceed at every me(al at which) at least ten men are gathered together".

The Essenes seem to have visualised the Congregation of Israel in the time of the consummation - the Messianic Age - a picture which coincides with the forms and institutions already manifested in the community at Qumran. Thus the cult meal, as celebrated in the Community, has its proper place in the picture of the eschatological Israel. To the Essenic Messianic hope are attached no less than two Messianic savburs - the Messiah of Aaron, and the Messiah of Israel. On the one hand, the Messiah of Aaron, of the tribe of Levi, is the eschatological high priest, the spiritual head of the entire people. On the other hand, the Messiah of Israel, of the tribe of Judah, is the political leader of the people. In rank he appears to be subordinated to the Messiah of Aaron. For this reason the Messiah of Aaron appears in the "Messianic Rule" as the priest who presides over the cult meal, just as a priest has that similar duty in the "Manual of Discipline". In the "Rule", however, the Messiah of Israel is also brought into the picture, of the cult meal. In accordance with his rank he is to be the second to touch the bread and wine. It is only after this that the congregation are allowed to touch the food.

It is clear from the central position of this cult meal of the Essenes, that they must have attached some kind of deep religious significance to it, perhaps even a truly sacramental one. At any rate there seems to be just such a sacramental one in the Manual, and perhaps it may be possible to widen this to include all the meals of the sect, since Josephus implies that they wore special holy vestments/

vestments at mealtimes. What the sacramental significance exactly was is not clear, but it is known from the Qumran texts that the bath of immersion which was beside the cult meal, a cult act peculiar to the sect, did have actual sacramental significance for the Community, as mediating the divine forgiveness of sins. But in this aspect of their lives, the people of Qumran were not so exclusive as may be thought, for it seems very clear that many other sects had similar rites, and it could be said that in this particular aspect, the Community of Qumran were merely standing in the line of the common Jewish tradition of their time.

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The Sacramental Meal in Judaism

In this section, acknowledgement must be made to the work of Matthew Black, in his "The Scrolls and Christian Origins".

In Judaism at about the same period of the Qumran people, several parallels to the Qumran cult-meal can readily be found close at hand. One such alleged parallel is to be found in the Jewish writing "Joseph and Asenath", which scholars are agreed in determining as a product of Alexandrian syncretism of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. Not only is this work too late for present purposes but also in its only available form, as it is a Christianized document, thus making it impossible to be admitted as evidence for an earlier period.

Another close parallel might be held to be the description in the "Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs", Levi VIII, 2-5, of the installation of Levi as the High Priest, especially the words:-
".....And the first anointed me with holy oil, and gave me the staff of judgement. The second washed me with pure water, and fed me with bread and wine (even) the most holy things, and clad me with a holy and glorious robe".

Even here there are traces of a later Christian influence at work. The Unction and the ablutions are part of the ritual investiture of the High Priest in the Old Testament (2), but probably the influence of the Christian baptismal ceremony can be detected in this whole passage.

The only other description of a sectarian meal of the period is that of the Therapeutae, and, in this case, there can be very little doubt that it is in the tradition of a Jewish sacred meal.

The Therapeutae are contrasted by Philo with the Palestinian Essenes; the latter to him represents a practical, the former a contemplative type. Philo ("Opera", Vol. IX, p.109f), gives an account of their (the Therapeutae) manner of life, concluding with their Symposium;-

"First/

.....

(2) cf. Ex.28,41; 29,4.

"First the date and occasion (Pentecost); then the preliminaries and the prayers, the seating in order of seniority in the community with the sexes separate; then the couches used and the qualifications of the attendants who are not slaves but young freemen; the simplicity of the meal provided. After they have taken their places on the couches there follows a discourse by the President on some scriptural point bringing out the spiritual lessons that the literal text provides, which is received with all attention followed by applause at the end. The discourse is followed by hymns, the first sung by the President, the others by the congregation each in turn while all join in the refrain at the end. Then at last the meal itself is served. After this the vigil begins, the men and the women each form a choir, the two choirs sing and dance in turn and then join together, thus resembling the songs of Moses and Miriam after the destruction of Pharaoh in the Red Sea, which is once more told in some detail. This is continued till dawn when they stand up and face the east and at sunrise after prayer return each to their prayer room".

The seating of the suppiants in order of seniority at their sacred meal agrees with the accounts of the Qumran meals. The meal however, is one of leavened bread and water only; there is no flesh.

"The table is kept pure from the flesh of animals". (3)
The meal consists of loaves of bread, with salt as seasoning, sometimes flavoured with hyssop.

Note also:- "Abstinence from wine is enjoined....as for the priest when sacrificing, so for these for their life-time". (4)

And:- "The young men bring in the tables on which is set the truly purified meal of leavened bread, seasoned with salt mixed with hyssop, out of reverence for the holy table enshrined in the sacred vestibule of the Temple on which lie loaves and salt without condiments, the loaves unleavened and the salt unmixed. For it was meet that the simplest and purest food should be assigned to the highest caste, namely the priests....." (5)

The asceticism of the Therapeutae mystics is similar to that of the ancient Israelite Rechabite ascetics, especially in their abstinence from wine; in their abstention also from the flesh of animals/

animals they conform to the type of asceticism of some of the Palestinian sectarian groups.

The parallel which Philo draws between the "tables" of the Therapeutae and the Table of Shewbread in the Temple is intended to remind us that, although the Therapeutae were a lay order, their sacred meal was of the same cultic character as the offering of the Shewbread by the priests in the Temple at Jerusalem; the bread was consecrated bread, the Table was a "holy table"; only, since the Therapeutae were laymen and belonged to an inferior rank, their bread was leavened bread.

It seems fairly clear, then, that the Qumran meal is to be derived from practices in the Temple itself. To the priesthood were assigned the "choice portions" of the daily offerings. K.G. Kuhn made this point well:-

".....the Order originated with a group who severed their relations with the Jerusalem Temple and went out into the wilderness and in the Jerusalem Temple the priests had to take a ritual bath before and after each cult action. In the evening, their daily offices being concluded, the priests gathered - after a final bath- in a special room in the Temple set aside for them; here they partook of the priestly meal. This consisted of 'holy things' i.e. those pieces of the offerings which were set aside for the priests. Once separated from the Temple, the Essenes discontinued the sacrificial cult, but continued to lead their lives in accordance with priestly purity. They continued daily baths and sacred meals" (6)

Probably the sacred meal of bread and/or wine of the Qumran priestly sect was not **only** an anticipation of the Messianic Banquet, but also a foretaste of the full Temple rite when that had been fully restored in the New Jerusalem and in the new Temple of Ezekiel's vision, and when the Zadokite priesthood would once again have come into their ancient inheritance.

Other aspects of the sacred meal of the Therapeutae may contribute to further understanding of the Qumran texts. Especially characteristic of the Egyptian Mareotis group was their hymn singing, preceding and following the meal, the vigil and the ritual dances:-

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(6) "The Scrolls and the New Testament", edited by K.Stendhal, p.68

"After the supper they hold the sacred vigil which is conducted in the following way. They rise up all together and standing in the middle of the refectory form themselves first into two choirs, one of men and one of women, the leader and precentor chosen for each being the most honoured amongst them and also the most musical. Then they sing hymns to God composed of many measures and set to many melodies, sometimes chanting together, sometimes taking up the harmony antiphonally, hands and feet keeping time in accompaniment, and rapt with enthusiasm reproduce sometimes the lyrics of the procession, sometimes of the halt and wheeling and counterwheeling of the choric dance....."

Hebrew hymns have now been discovered which were no doubt put to some similar use in the Qumran liturgy, the "Hymns of Thanks giving". They are all mainly hymns of deliverance, praising the divine mercy and goodness for his salvation of Israel. The mime, or dance, of the Therapeutae has the same theme, the celebration of the historic deliverance of Israel from Egyptian bondage. In these Qumran texts a spirit of almost evangelical piety is encountered, a sense of complete dependence upon God for life and salvation.

Philo's description of the purpose and function of the mime and of the antiphonal singing, brings nearer the fundamental religious meaning of the sacred meal of both Therapeutae and the Qumran Essenes than any other source or document. It was a cultic action or drama, concerned with the celebration of mighty acts of the deliverance of Israel by her God. But the sacred vigil suggests that this form of Jewish religion was forward -, as well as backward-looking.

Such a reconstruction of the character and significance of these sectarian meals may be held to receive some confirmation from the Qumran literature; the possible character of the meal as an anticipation of the Messianic Banquet, and the rules laid down in the event to the Messiah being "born", suggests that these meals were like the Passover itself, the supreme Jewish sacral meal and had some kind of Messianic significance. They not only celebrated the past deliverance of Israel, but looked forward

to/

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(7) Philo op.cit., XI, 83-87

to her future deliverance by the "Messiah of Aaron and Israel". The character of the Qumran Messiah and the War Scroll, in particular, shows that this future deliverance was conceived in terms of a triumphant military conquest of the Gentiles world. At the same time, these ideas were combined with such deep religious longings and aspirations, as are found in the Qumran hymns for a deliverance from all the powers of evil.

It is interesting also, to note how these cult meals find their parallels among the Pharisaic initiation rites. Among the Pharisees there was a two-stage probation period for novices, enquiry into his suitability, and the same concern for ritual purity; and initiation was accompanied by a ritual bath (the tebilah), and followed by the participation in the ritually pure meals of the Haburah. The ritual bath, however, does not appear to have been repeated (hand-washings, rather than immersions, were the characteristic Pharisaic practice). The repetition of purificatory washings emerges as the most striking common feature between sectarian Judaism, and certain branches of the early church.

It is clear, from the foregoing evidence, that the Qumran sacramental meal stands in the same tradition of cult-meals of other sects such as the Therapeutae, while its ancestry can be traced back to the Temple worship itself, not forgetting the Passover meal, with its bread and wine, and the meals of the Pharisaic guilds or Haburoth. As Matthew Black rightly says:-

".....and, in any case, every meal in Judaism was, in some sense, a religious meal....."(8)

Perhaps these sectarian meals are different branches of the same parent stem of tradition in Judaism, from which in time, the Christian Eucharist, or Lord's Supper, emerged in a form which was little more than a Christianized Passover. But the sectarian meals in Judaism, appear to be the common link between the Qumran common meal, and that of the Christians of Paul's time, as seen in the Lord's Supper.

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Paul's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper

The earliest New Testament references to a ceremonial partaking of food by Christians are in Acts 2,42 and 20,7. In both cases the reference is to the "breaking of bread", as it is also in the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles". Early reference such as these seem to point only to a breaking of bread, and no drinking of wine.

In the manual of early Christian teaching, "The Didache", the loaf is regarded as the symbol of Unity, as exemplified in the common life of Christians. It is identified with Christ, the Bread of Heaven.

The act of breaking recalls Jesus's actions. It is perhaps pertinent to suggest that the evening of the Last Supper was not the first or the only time when Jesus had attached a sacramental significance to the breaking of bread. That this was characteristic of Jesus may be implied from the testimony of the two friends at Emmaus, who recognised Him by the breaking of bread. (9) It must have been His custom to make every meal a sacramental one, but on the eve of His death He celebrated an anticipated Passover with His closest friends, almost in the same manner as the ten or more of the Qumran Council celebrated their meal with their Priest. At the same time, Jesus changed the Old Jewish ritual feast into a Christian form, as the institution of a memorial feast for him designed to make the participants aware of the redemptive significance of His death on the Cross.

The second stage of development of the Lord's Supper is reflected in 1 Corinthians 10,16, where more significance is attached to the wine. This implies a "koinonia" with Christ. R. Otto states that men enjoy such a "koinonia" by participation in a numinous object, e.g., the water from the rock, the Altar etc. Participation in the numinous object brings about or confirms incorporation in a group which stands in a common religious or ethical relation to the being or the thing whose significance is suggested by the numinous object. Thus when men partake of the bread and the Cup, the effect is to bring them into a certain relation with one another, and so constitute a sacred society or fellowship or to confirm the self consciousness of such a society.

(9) Luke 24, 30-31.

(This would seem to clarify the essential similarity between the early Christians of Paul's day, the Qumran people, the Judaistic sects, the Pharisees, and indeed all Judaism in general!)

The Pauline account of the institution of the Lord's Supper is in 11 Corinthians 11, vv. 23-34, and is very illuminating for this present study. On all grounds of history, it must be held fundamental for the discovery of the doctrine of the Sacrament, that the original Last Supper in the upper room was to be normative and typical for every subsequent celebration. A careful examination and comparison of the texts shows that Jesus first gave the elements of bread and wine to His disciples, and then, while they were partaking of them, spoke the explanatory words. The procedure was essentially spiritual and symbolic, for it brings what Jesus said and did into line, so far, with other symbolic actions of which accounts are given in the lives of the prophets and in the history of Jesus himself. In other words, the Lord's Supper is an "acted para

The thought of the Passover underlay and coloured the whole of the proceedings at the original supper. The circumstances of the Paschal setting are of no little significance for the correct interpretation of Jesus's words and actions. It has a bearing on the question whether or not the supper refers to Jesus's death, and whether or not that death was a sacrifice. An ordinary meal of bread and wine might not suggest such ideas, but a Paschal meal would most certainly suggest them. If Jesus and His friends partook of the Paschal Lamb, and Jesus broke the bread, the analogy between the slain lamb and the broken bread would be apparent. Again, if the Lord's Supper sprang from the Passover, then Jesus both intended and commanded the repetition of the feast as a memorial of Himself. And if the Lord's Supper took place at the close of a Passover meal, anticipated or not, then it naturally claims an inheritance in the associations and ideas of sacrificial meals generally, and of the great Jewish covenant meal of redemption in particular. Its conjunction with the older rite shows that it was meant to be an act of thanksgiving and worshipful communion with God, and at the same time an act of social fellowship and brotherly love by which Jesus's dear disciples bound themselves to one another.

For Paul, the Lord's Supper meant three things:-

- (1) It is a commemoration of Jesus's death. The proclamation of Jesus's death on the part of Christians is the proclamation of His redeeming sacrifice, and so includes faith in Jesus Himself as Redeemer of His People.
- (2) It is a communion with Jesus, in the sense that is special and peculiar. In the Lord's Supper, the Lord draws near to offer Himself, with all the fruits of His redeeming death, to faithful hearts, and that faith, quickened by seeing, touching and tasting the outward symbols, may be drawn out at the Lord's Supper with unusual warmth and freeness to conscious fellowship with Jesus, and conscious appropriation of His saving gifts. In the Lord's Supper, Christians realise their communion with Jesus, and fellowship with one another in unity of the body of which Jesus is the Lord.
- (3) It contains the promise of Jesus's glorious return; it looks to the future.

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Conclusion

From this examination of the Sacramental Meal in the Qumran texts, Judaism and Paul, it can be said that all three are simply different branches of the same parent stem found in the religion of Israel. Undoubtedly there can be postulated a similarity between the meal in Qumran and that recorded by Paul, especially in the aspect of the Messianic return, while at the same time there is a link between the Qumran meal and those of orthodox Judaism, as represented by the Temple cult meals, and also with the rites of sectarian Judaism, as represented by such people as the Therapeutae, and Pharisaic Judaism. Perhaps there can be seen some similarity between the meals of the Therapeutae and that of Paul, in the redemptive significance which each held for the believing participant. Since Paul was brought up as a Pharisee (10), it is only reasonable to deduce that he would assimilate the contemporary Jewish beliefs with regard to sacramental meals. Therefore it is to Judaism that we must turn to find the link between Paul and Qumran. But there are other similarities outwith Judaism, which show a close link between Qumran and Paul, e.g. the daily celebration of the common meal, and also the community of goods. One interesting suggestion, which may have good grounds of acceptance, is that there was a "branch" of the Qumran sect at Damascus. C.T. Fritsch in his book, "The Qumran Community", p.21ff suggests that the references to the city of Damascus in the "Zadokite Document" of the Qumran texts, are to be taken to mean a migration of Essenes from Qumran to Damascus during the reign of Herod the Great (37-4 B.C.). Clearly this date is too early to be contemporary with Paul, but it is more than possible that there were "disciples" left behind in Damascus, after the main body of the sect had returned to Qumran after Herod's death. They could have perpetuated the practices and theology of the sect until, and probably long after Paul's time. And in any case, if the Qumran people were truly Essenes then it is known that it was their regular practice to have a member of the sect in every large town to provide hospitality for other itinerant members of the sect.

Damascus/

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(10) Philip. 3,5; Gal. 1,13-14.

Damascus was certainly an important town, and certainly likely to be a place where the Essenes would have placed just such a person, especially as Damascus seems to have had some special significance for them. Paul could hardly be unaware of their presence, beliefs and practices, if he spent some part of his life in and around Damascus.

However, this may turn out, on further investigation, to be a false lead, and it may be that it is in his native Judaism that we have to turn to try to find a link between Paul and Qumran.

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PART II :- BAPTISM IN QUMRAN AND PAUL

Throughout certain sections of the Qumran Scrolls there are scattered various references to washings and ritual cleansings. Scholars hold widely diverging views as to the exact nature of the cleansings, some asserting that they are to be seen in the light of the baptism of John the Baptist and the Christian Church, others holding to the view that they were more closely related to the Pharisaic ritual washings, and held no special sacramental connotation. Let it be stated that the only way of coming to any satisfactory conclusion on this question is to allow the relevant texts to speak for themselves. Most of the references to washings and cleansings are to be found in the Manual of Discipline (1 QS), and the Zadokite Document (ZD); there is, in addition, a further reference to be found in the scroll entitled, "The War Rule". (WR)

Manual of Discipline:-

(1) 1QS III, par 1 :-

"He shall not be reckoned among the perfect; he shall neither be purified by atonement, nor cleansed by purifying waters, nor sanctified by seas and rivers, nor washed clean with any ablution. Unclean, unclean shall he be. For as long as he despises the precepts of God he shall receive no instruction in the Community of his Counsel."

This section implies that while there were laid down in the Manual washings, (a) for defilement from physical impurities, and, (b) in connection with admission to membership of the Community there were also some kinds of cleansing which were repetitive, for the continued cleansing of sins, and in connection with the renewal of the Covenant.

(2) 1 QS III, par 2:-

"For it is through the spirit of true counsel concerning the ways of man that all sins shall be expiated that he may contemplate the light of life. He shall be cleansed from all his sins by the spirit of holiness uniting him to his truth, and his iniquity shall be expiated by the spirit of/

of uprightness and humility. And when his flesh is sprinkled with purifying water and sanctified by cleansing water, it shall be made clean by the humble submission of his soul to all the precepts of God. Let him then order his steps to walk perfectly in all the ways commanded by God concerning the times appointed for him, straying neither to right nor to left and transgressing none of His words, and he shall be accepted by virtue of pleasing atonement before God and it shall be to him a Covenant of the everlasting Community.

In this instance it could be said that purificatory baptism is being spoken about. But note that emphasis is laid on repentance as a necessary pre-condition of baptism, as in the baptism of John.

(3) 1QS IV, par .6:-

"God will then purify every deed of Man with his truth; He will refine for Himself the human frame by rooting out all spirit of falsehood from the bounds of his flesh. He will cleanse him of all wicked deeds with the spirit of holiness; like purifying waters He will shed upon him the spirit of truth (to cleanse him) of all abomination and falsehood".

Here again water is connected with purification from wickedness, although it is used as a simile for the spirit of holiness and truth.

(4) 1QS V, par 5:-

"They shall not enter the water to partake of the pure Meal of the saints, for they shall not be cleansed unless they turn from their wickedness: for all who transgress the word are unclean".

This section would appear to refer to ritual cleansing, or baptism, in connection with the sect's novitiate. However, there are deeper implications also, the most important being the clear reference to repentance as a pre-condition for cleansing as in 1QS III, par. 2.

The Zadokite Document:-

(1) ZD. X, par 4:-

"No man shall bathe in dirty water or in an amount too shallow to cover a man. He shall not purify himself with water contained in a vessel. And as for the water of every rock-pool too shallow to cover a man, if an unclean man touches it he renders its waters as unclean as water contained in a vessel."

(2) ZD. XI, par 2:-

"No man shall wear soiled garments, or garments brought to the store, unless they have been washed with water or rubbed with incense."

(3) ZD XI, par. 13:-

"No man entering the house of worship shall come unclean and in the need of washing. And at the sounding of the trumpet....."

These references seem to indicate concern over physical, rather than spiritual defilement. In this it may be said that they are more akin to the Pharisaic code of clean and unclean, pure and impure, rather than with John's baptism for the remission of sins.

The War Rule, XIV, par 1:-

"And when they have risen from the slain to return to the camp, they shall all sing the Psalm of Return. And in the morning, they shall wash their garments, and shall cleanse themselves of the blood of the bodies of the ungodly".

This is similar to the injunction laid down in ZD. X and XI, i.e. it refers to physical cleansing only.

If, as is generally agreed, the Qumran scrolls represent the life and faith of the Essene Community, then it will be illuminating to compare the foregoing quotations from the scrolls with/

with three excerpts from the description of the Essenes given by the Jewish historian Josephus in his "The Jewish War", Book 2:-

(1) Sections 128 - 130:-

".....Before the sun is up they utter no word on mundane matters, but offer to him certain prayers, which have been handed down from their forefathers, as though entreating him to rise. They are then dismissed by their superiors to the various crafts in which they are severally proficient and are strenuously employed until the fifth hour, when they again assemble in one place, and, after girding their loins with linen cloths, bathe their bodies in cold water. After this purification, they assemgle in a private apartment which none of the uninitiated is permitted to enter; pure now themselves they repair to the refectory, as to some sacred shrine....."

This would make sense in the light of the injunctions to physical cleanliness given in ZD.

(2) Sections 137 and 138:-

"A candidate anxious to join their sect is not immediately admitted. For one year, during which he remains outside the fraternity, they prescribe for him their own rule of life, presenting him with a small hatchet, the loin-cloth already mentioned, and white raiment. Having given proof of his temperance during this probationary period, he is brought into closer touch with the rule and is allowed to share the purer kind of holy water, but is not yet received into the meetings of the community. For after this exhibitic of endurance, his character is tested for two years more, and only then, if found worthy, is he enrolled in the society...."

Cleansing is here associated with the sect's novitiate, as in IQS V, par. 5. "Holy water" would seem to indicate some kind of spiritual connotation to the cleansing, almost akin to pure baptism.

(3) Sections 147 - 149:-

".....They are careful not to spit into the midst of the company or to the right, and are stricter than all Jews in/

in abstaining from work on the seventh day; for not only do they prepare their food on the day before, to avoid kindling a fire on that one, but they do not venture to remove any vessel or even go to stool. On other days they dig a trench a foot deep with a mattock.....and wrapping their mantle about them, that they may not offend the rays of the deity, sit above it. They then replace the excavated soil in the trench. For this purpose they select the more retired spots. And although the discharge of the excrements is a natural function, they make it a rule to wash themselves after it, as if defiled."

Undoubtedly this would fit in very well with ZD.X par.4.

(4) Section 150 :-

"They are divided, according to the duration of their discipline, into four grades; and so far are the junior members inferior to the seniors, that a senior if but touched by a junior, must take a bath as after contact with an alien."

This again is in line with the injunction of ZD; this is pure physical cleansing from physical defilements, with no real spiritual significance.

Thus, initially, the conclusion can be drawn that there were in the Qumran sect washings of at least two types:-

- '1) Some definitely of a religious nature, either for the cleansing from sin, or in connection with the sect's novitiate or in some connection with the renewal of the sect's covenant. This particular type is that referred to in the Manual. Note also in the Manual reference to the "Purification of the Many" which by the very nature of its title would seem to indicate a connection with baptism. On this point the French scholar, M. Dupont-Sommer has this to say when discussing the penalties laid down in IQS and ZD:-

".....In many cases it is laid down that the victim shall be separated from the 'Purification of the Many'. This certainly means isolation, a sort of quarantine, during which the/

the person punished may not approach other members of the community.

What is this 'Purification of the Many' from which he is separated? The phrase here seems here to mean something very specific. It is probably the name given to the communal centre, to the house where the brethren met for their meals and for their sessions, and to the adjacent pool where they all bathed together. The person undergoing punishment was forbidden all access to this holy spot; and was thus obliged to eat his shortened rations, and take his purificatory baths alone". (11)

It seems likely from this evidence that there were some cleansings which had almost a sacramental character, since they were very closely associated with the central rites of the sect's life.

- (2) Some washings were at the same time "ritual" and yet not purely "sacramental". For instance the injunction in ZD to enter the house of worship clean (12). means physically clean, clean in accordance with the ritual code of clean and unclean, yet not in any sacramental sense. The ZD is more concerned with such non-sacramental instances than IQS, which by contrast inclines toward sacramentalism.

The point at issue which arises from the presence of these references to washings and lustration is "Did the Qumran sect practise Baptism?", understanding the latter in the sense in which the Christian Church understood it. One clue which may unravel the many tangled threads of this problem is to be found in the archaeological evidence from the ruins of the monastery itself at Qumran. A very prominent feature of the settlement was the number of water-cisterns, at least seven of them, some of which had steps built into them to allow descent into them. In this case it will be relevant to allow two of the experts to speak from first-hand knowledge of the remains; first, Father J.T. Milik, and second, Dr. John Allegro.

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(11) "The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes", p.87
(12) ZD. XI, par. 13.

Father Milik says:-

"Even from a distance, the general plan of the buildings, which cover in all an area of 80 x 80 metres, is quite clear. They form a rectangular enclosure, with an impressive tower at the north-west, and behind it to the west lie some imposing installations. The main entrance pierces a wall running out of the north of the tower. As one passes through this gate, the most noticeable feature is a solidly built canal supplied by an aqueduct leading from a small dam at the foot of a waterfall in the Wadi Qumran. This canal brings water to seven large cisterns, scattered all over the settlement. The first cistern to which the canal comes is circular, but all the others are rectangular, with steps inside them enabling one to reach down to the level of the water in the dry seasons

(13)

Dr. Allegro says:-

"For when, in the following year, the rubble was cleared from the walls, and the main outlines of the building stood out, it was seen that this could be no dwelling house, but some sort of monastery, having large meeting rooms with plaster benches running round the walls, and outside the building a large water cistern far beyond the needs of an ordinary family....."(14)

And further:-

".....The most striking characteristic of the monastery is the number and size of the water cisterns, and the complexity of the conduit systems. The earthquake ruined some, and when, on reoccupation, more were built, the water had to be diverted along new channels. But the maze became so complicated as changes were instituted to satisfy some new need or the pet scheme of an Overseer, that to sort them out has been one of the difficulties of an already intricate excavation..... On the western side of the monastery the remains of an aqueduct can be seen running back into the falaise. If the visitor follows the double line of stones

(13) "Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea", p.48
(14) "The Dead Sea Scrolls", D.83

and climbs up some distance to the head of the Wady Qumran, he will come across a tunnel which has been cut out of the rock for several yards, and can crawl through without difficulty until he emerges at the source of the settlement's water supply.

The Cisterns in the Khirbet are well made and carefully plastered, with steps at one end leading down into the water a characteristic and very necessary feature of Roman cistern in the area, allowing of the drawing of water from whatever level it may be. The water thus collected from the head of the Wady would have to last 9-10 months of the year, so that it is not surprising that so much was required for a community of probably 500 souls. Besides that necessary for the sustaining of life, water purification rites played a large part in their religious devotions, necessitating an enlarged supply and at least two of the cisterns are of a size and shape consistent with their use as baptistries....."(15)

From the contents of these quotations it may be felt that Father Milik envisages only a "secular" use for the cisterns, as he explains the steps as merely enabling one to reach down to the level of the water in the dry season. In other words for him they are simply storage tanks necessary for the sustaining of life in a hot, arid environment. Dr. Allegro inclines to very much the same view, but in addition mentions their possible use in purification rites, and even finally commits himself to using the words "baptistries". (15)

It is obvious that a community of this kind at Qumran, living in the "wilderness", in its hot, arid climate would depend on water for its physical survival. From the size of the ruins it is clear that the community was by no means a small one, and thus would require large quantities of water. The cisterns must have been used for at least this purpose, apart from any other function. Without/

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Without them there could have been no possibility of the existence of human life for any period of time.

If the ruins are the remains of the Essene headquarters, and if Josephus is right about their concern for cleanliness, then it is certain that a vast amount of water would have been required for the fulfillment of these requirements. This would lead to the suspicion that some of the cisterns were used for storing drinking water, while others were used in the fulfillment of these ceremonial washings. Some evidence of this may be deduced from the fact that on the western and south-western sides of the settlement there were two cisterns, one circular and one rectangular, which have no steps in them (see the excellent plan of the ruins in Milik op.cit., p.48). Could not these two at least have been exclusively devoted for the storage of drinking and cooking water, while the others, with steps, were used for ritual cleansing? This seems the likeliest solution to the problem.

If this is so, then the others, with steps, were used for ritual purposes to fulfil the sect's requirements on cleansing. But note one very significant thing; the central meeting hall has a cistern, with steps, immediately adjoining and parallel to it. Is it too much to claim that this one had the distinctive use of a baptistry? The fact of its proximity to the meeting hall would seem to suggest some special use, and what more likely that it was here that the Purification of the Many was carried out? Perhaps it was here that the final cleansing was performed before a novice was admitted to full membership. This seems a distinct possibility. All the other cisterns run north-south, while this is the only one to run east-west, exactly the same way as the orientation of the central meeting hall. Whether or not "baptism" was carried out here, it surely seems possible that some kind of special lustration was performed here, as distinct from the other ceremonial cleansings and washings which may have taken place in the other cisterns.

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The direction in which all the foregoing material seemsto be pointing is that there ~~was~~ some kind of baptism practised by the Qumran sect. On this point, scholars are very much divided in opinion. One school of thought, represented by M. Dupont-Sommer, M. Jean-Danielou, G. Vermes and M. Black, are prepared to assert tha there was a form of baptism practised at Qumran. No-one, except G. Driver, is absolutely against the existence of baptism in this context, but there are others who cannot make up their minds one way or the other, e.g. J.T. Milik and J. Allegro. A brief examination of the viewpoints of each will bring to light the main points at issue.

M. Dupont-Sommer comes out quite strongly on the side for baptism. In his comments on the references to lustrations and cleansings he quite categorically alludes to "baptism", saying that it must be accompanied by sincere conversion of the heart in order to be effective. He sums it up by saying:-

".....This does not seek to deny either the lawfulness or the necessity of baptismal rites. But this was a time when those rites, doubtless under the Iranian influence, were beginning to enjoy a wide popularity. Accordingly, it is a warning against interpreting these rights as possessing a materialistic and magical virtue. They only purify the flesh if the spirit is truly directed towards God....." (16)

M. Jean-Danielou, like most of the scholars in this category, links the practise of baptism with the novitiate of the prospective members of the sect. He is concerned to compare the processes of initiation in Qumran and the Christian Church. In Qumran the neophyte is examined by a censor, and then, if found worthy, is admitted as a catechumen, when he is given instruction in the doctrine of the two spirits, as in the Manual of Discipline. In Christianity there is a similar progression; the catechumen is admitted to some instruction ih the two ways of Life and Death. In both Qumran and Christianity, the candidate is presented to the congregation, and enters a second probationary period. In Qumran, Danielou asserts, this is preceded by baptismal rites, and it is only/
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only after completion of this second grade and the final approval of the congregation that the candidate is admitted to the sacred meal. In Christianity, baptism and the Eucharist follow the second probationary period. Both parties give their candidates a white robe, though at different stages in the initiation process. The main difference lies in the fact that in Qumran, baptism could be repeated, while in Christianity it was a once-for-all event.

Vermes agrees with most of this, as also does M. Black. Black agrees with the two stage probationary period set out by Dupont-Sommer and Danielou, which is also in line with Josephus's account of the Essenes, with regard to their baptismal rites. Black more than the others, is quite definite in his views that baptism was by immersion, and that it took place in full view of a general convention of the community. He says:-

".....The probability is, however, that the neophytes were admitted to the 'purer waters of baptism' in the sight of the assembled people. The size and formation of the baptistries at Qumran, exposed to full view in an area which forms a natural amphitheatre, the divided partitions on entering, point to their use in some public ceremony. It seems probable, too, that the renewal of covenant was also symbolized by the assembled people entering the baths in order of their rank and status.

It does not seem likely that the 'entering' or 'renewing' of the Covenant was by descending into and ascending from the baptismal waters in the large Qumran baptistries....."(17)

It was definitely a baptism based on repentance, and as such it forms a significant point of contact with the New Testament, in its general presentation of the baptism of John as a baptism of repentance for the remission of sins. The novelty is that in Qumran these rites were practised in relation to a movement of repentance, of entry into a New Covenant in preparation for an impending divine judgement. Like Johannine baptism the entire setting of Qumran repentance and enrolment into the New Israel is eschatological. Baptism, the, had this double significance:-

(1)/

(17) "Op.cit., pp.95-96"

- (1) It was the initiation ritual for admission to full membership of the community.
- (2) It was the sign of incorporation into the New Covenant.

G.R. Driver would oppose such views as set out above. To begin with he is sceptical of the deductions drawn from the presence and nature of the water cisterns. He writes:-

".....No archaeological evidence for such a use of the cisterns has been produced, while the archaeologists' inclination to take every pool for a sacred spring and every cistern for a font and the danger of exaggerating the argument from their existence must not be overlooked. That the Covenanters required baptism as a condition of admission to their society is by no means clear or certain; and even if they had required it, such extensive installations could not have been needed for occasional celebrations of the rite..... The obvious conclusion, which Dr. Cross draws, is that the cisterns at Qumran are typical of reservoirs well known from other sites and that the small pools, including the shallow pool at the entrance to the settlement, will have been baths; no-one is likely to have bathed in the cisterns which must have contained water for drinking as well as for other purposes....." (18)

He goes on to assert that such references as there are to cleansings etc., have nothing to do with initiation rites or incorporation into a New Covenant. They are merely examples of normal Jewish laws on pure and impure. This he states as follows:-

"That the Covenanters ought to be regarded as a baptizing sect may be disputed. The numerous cisterns found at Qumran, as said above, prove little or nothing. Probably however these people, who rivalled the Essenes and outdid the Pharisees in the strict observance of the Law, did in fact observe ritual or ceremonial lustrations, possibly by total immersion; but the Scrolls nowhere enforce or even imply such an obligation as a condition of admission to the community of the Covenanters." (19)

(18) "The Judean Scrolls"; p.43.....

(19) Op.cit., p.496.

Further to this, he writes:-

"The last rule makes the purpose of these ablutions clear: they are intended to wash away, the ceremonial defilement which a man may incur by contact with persons in the world outside and may bring with him into it, so as to defile its members by contaminating what they eat and drink, whether in the handling of it or in the sharing in their meals. At the same time these rules only say that such ablutions will not avail to cleanse a man who rejects the principles of the society and so make him fit to enter it unless he repents; they do not say that he must submit to them before being admitted to it. In other words, they cannot be construed in a positive sense as requiring such a rite as a condition of admission, just as the prohibition of infanticide cannot be construed as a command enjoining the procreation of children". (20)

While on the one hand Driver seems to be going in the opposite direction to the majority of scholars, on the other hand it may be advantageous to note some of the points he makes. Perhaps more care should be taken in the assessment of the relevant evidence, lest we are guilty of reading personal presuppositions into it. While we may not agree with Driver, we must acknowledge that he does give a very valuable warning to all who work in this field.

The other class of scholar - "the doubters" - is represented by Milik and Allegro. Milik gives a short, clear account of his views on this subject:-

"There were appropriate ceremonies to mark admission into the postulancy, the novitiate, and especially full membership, but it is difficult to come to a clear picture of how such ceremonies were performed. We are not told whether there were baptismal rites distinct from the daily ablutions of the sect. Accordingly it is impossible to institute an exact comparison between the ablutions of the Essenes on the one hand, and the baptism of John the Baptist and the Christian Church....." (21)

Allegro/

(20) Op.cit., p.498

(21) Op.cit., p.102

Allegro, in actual fact, is not quite so doubtful as Milik and comes close to saying that there definitely was a form of baptism practised at Qumran:-

".....The rite of initiation into the full membership of the Community was probably accompanied by an initial baptism ceremony. Whether or not they used the great cisterns at the Qumran settlement for this purpose is still open to question..... Certainly this would accord with the injunction of the Zadokite Document that no man shall bathe in water of less depth than that required to cover a person, but whether this ruling had relevance to baptismal ceremonies is not clear. It seems more probable in some ways that the Sect would prefer the traditional running water of the Jordan river not so far away, or nearer still the clear waters of 'Ain Feshka,' though these would only 'cover a man' if he were lying down. We know very little about the actual baptism ceremony, although some fragments from the Fourth Cave tell us something about the benedictions used at this rite. Once a person had been admitted to the Purity of the Many, he could be baptized in the same water as other full members, but the sect was careful that no novitiate or non-member was allowed to touch this water, nor any of his possessions, since he was ritually 'unclean'....."(22)

At one point Allegro seems to favour baptism, in such phrases as,".....We know very little about the actual baptism ceremony", and then he seems to change his mind when he talks about the function of the cisterns. On the whole, however, his general tendency is toward baptism, and so we may be justified in adding him to the company of those who definitely favour baptism.

It would seem, then, that the evidence is in favour of the existence of Baptism at Qumran, and it is likely that such a view is closer to the texts than anything else. From the layout of the cisterns at Qumran, and the evidence of the texts it can be deduced that there was a baptism practised, as distinct from the ceremonial lustrations and other ritual cleansings, a baptism of repentance, which lead, in a sacramental fashion to full admission into the sect, and, more important, into incorporation into the New Covenant/

 (22) Op.cit., pp.106-107

Covenant of the sect which regarded itself as a type of the New Israel. It is this eschatological note which brings it into close affinity with Christian baptism, along with the necessity of repentance as a prerequisite for its administration. However, this must not blind us to one startling difference between Christianity and Qumran:- the fact that in Qumran baptism was repeated, while in Christianity it was not. Nevertheless, in the baptismal rites of Qumran there is a world of thought very close to that of Christian belief and practice, which in a measure is represented by the thoughts of the Apostle Paul.

.....

Baptism in the Writings of Paul

Since Paul was not the one who "invented" baptism, or even the one who introduced it into the Christian faith, this aspect of his thought must be reckoned as a part of that rich inheritance he brought with him from Pharisaic Judaism. The importance of Paul in this sphere is the work he did in developing an already existing doctrine, and bringing out the full sacramental nature of baptism to every believing soul. References to baptism in the Pauline corpus are fairly few, but such as there are will be examined in detail in order to build up as coherent a picture as possible of his thought on this subject. The passages to be examined will include:-

Romans 6,3ff; 1 Corinthians 1,13-17; 6,11; 10,1-3; 12,13; 15,29; Galatians 3,27; Colossians 2,12; Ephesians 5,26.

All N.T. References are from the Revised Standard Version of the Bi

Romans 6, 3f:-

" Do you not know that all of us who have been baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? (4). We were buried therefore with him by baptism into death, so that as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, we too might walk in newness of life."

With this passage it will be convenient to take also:

Colossians 2,12:-

".....and you were buried with him in baptism, in which you were also raised with him through faith in the working of God who raised him from the dead".

Both passages show baptism to be a burial of the believer with Christ in death, and as a resurrection with Him in newness of life. When Paul says, "Do you not know....." (v3), he is only assuming with regard to others what he knew to be true in regard to himself, that baptism had been a reality and not a mere outward empty form/

form, a genuine confession of faith on the one hand, and on the other, in correspondence with that, a divinely appointed symbol and seal of righteousness which comes from faith. Perhaps the symbolism of the baptismal rite, which was by immersion, offered a splendid illustration of the point Paul was at pains to clarify, namely, the intimacy of the union which faith brings about between the believer and Christ. Many find here clear evidence of the infection of Paul's thought by the Hellenistic Mystery Religions. But the explanation which seems best to fit is the language of that genuinely Hebrew product, "prophetic symbolism". In the disappearance of the convert beneath the water and his emergence again, Paul may have seen a striking symbol of the Union with Christ in death, and in life which Faith accomplishes. And yet the very use he makes of the symbolism of the rite indicates his sense of the real relation between baptism and faith; for the point on which most stress is laid is that baptism is being buried with Christ. But burial itself is not the same thing as death; it is only the public certification and sealing of death. In the same way baptism is not a dying with Christ, but rather a sealing of that death in Him and with Him which is immediately brought about by Faith.

1 Corinthians 1, 13-17 :-

"(13) Is Christ divided? Was Paul crucified for you? Or were you baptized in the name of Paul?

(14) I am thankful that I baptized none of you except Crispus and Gaius;

(15) Lest anyone should say that you were baptized in my name.

(16) (I did baptize also the household of Stephanas. Beyond that, I do not know whether I baptized anyone else).

(17) For Christ did not send me to baptize but to preach² the gospel, and not with eloquent wisdom, lest the cross of Christ be emptied of its power".

This/

This section implies that Paul's converts were baptized, and that they were all baptized into the name of Christ. Here can be seen two things. First, that Paul was very scrupulous about baptism; that it had to be done properly, i.e. into the name of Christ. Second, that Paul tries to keep away from baptism any idea of a mysterious supernatural efficacy. So far is his mind removed from the thought that baptism into Christ's name was an act whereby the Christians of Corinth were mystically united to Christ Himself, that he proceeds in v.14 to thank God that he had baptized hardly any of their number, lest anyone claimed that he had baptized into his own name. The very fact that baptism into Paul's name might be set over against baptism into Christ's name shows that Paul had not led his converts to attach any miraculous significance to the idea of being baptized into Christ.

An interesting point is brought out in v.17, where Paul claims that baptism is only secondary to the preaching of the word.

1 Corinthians 6,11 :-

"And such were some of you. But you were washed, you were sanctified, you were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God".

Along with this verse take also Ephesians 5,26:-

".....that he might sanctify her, having cleansed her by the washing of the water with the word....."

The ἀπελούσας of this verse (Corinthians) contained an allusion to baptism, as does Ephesians 5,26. Paul wishes to remind his people of the way in which at baptism they had consciously and deliberately separated themselves from the sinful world in which they had previously lived, and joined themselves to that fellowship of the holy which was theirs by right, because their baptism was the baptism of men who were already sanctified in principle and justified in fact. But to affirm that Paul regarded baptism as the "fons et origo" of the new life would be to stultify all that he has to say about Faith.

1 Corinthians 10,1-3:- /

1 Corinthians 10,1-3:-

"I want you to know, brethern, that our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, (2) and all were baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea, (3) and all ate the same supernatural food....."

This is rather an obscure passage. Paul employs the experiences of the Israelites in the wilderness as an Old Testament type of baptism. The Israelites were baptized into Moses, just as Christian believers are baptized into Christ. Just as the crossing of the Red Sea definitely committed the Israelites to follow Moses as their divinely appointed leader, so baptism is a definite committal and consecration to the following of Christ. In the case of the Israelites this 'baptism' was more than a committal, it was a self-committal, a conscious and voluntary act. ἐπαγγελισμός must be regarded as pointing to a conscious selfdedication. Thus the notion of baptism brought to prominence here is that of a conscious pledging of one's self to the abandonment of the old life and the entrance upon the new. The point of Paul's argument is that the sacraments in themselves are of not the least avail, unless in the obedience of faith the recipients set themselves to fulfil those tasks of being and doing to which they have pledged themselves by means of these solemn rites.

1 Corinthians 12, 13:-

"For by one Spirit we were all baptized into one body - Jews or Greeks, slaves or free - and all were made to drink of one Spirit".

Along with this verse, take Galatians 3,27:-

"For as many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ."

Paul claims that baptism is an institution used by the Spirit to bind men together into the unity of Christ's body. It is a visible bond of union among believers. No suspicion of any supernatural function of baptism is to be found here. Baptism is a visible symbol and pledge of unity of all those who through faith have/

have received the one Spirit., a unity of which they were made fully conscious by these joyful experiences which sprang up in their hearts when they were first initiated by baptism into the visible communion of the Christian Church.

1 Corinthians 15, 29:-

"Otherwise, what do people mean by being baptized on behalf of the dead? If the dead are not raised at all, why are people baptized on their behalf?"

Here there seems to be a passing reference to vicarious baptism on behalf of the dead, which Paul leaves uncontested, and which is not relevant for the present discussion.

Galatians 3, 27:-

"For as many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ".

Note the parallelism with the preceding verse; "for in Christ Jesus you are all sons of God, through faith".

Putting on Christ in v.27, is the counterpart of being sons of God in v.26. Baptism unites us with Christ while the function of faith is to accept this fact and rest upon it. Paul reminds the Galatians that since baptism is the confession and outward consummation of faith, all who in faith have been baptized into Christ have thereby put on Christ. Baptism is not anything specifically different from faith, but the effect of the latter is simply carried over to the former. Baptism was a psychological moment of deepest significance, when the convert broke away from the old sphere of thought and conduct in which he had hitherto moved, and attached himself to the sphere of Christianity. As an act of confession on one side, and a welcome into Christian brotherhood on the other, it bore within it a wonderful faculty of strengthening faith and quickening the sense of the divine forgiveness, and for this reason it was frequently accompanied by a marked accession of spiritual life and power.

Professor Rudolf Bultmann defines baptism as sacramental in Paul, i.e. ".....an act which by natural means puts supernatural powers/

powers into effect, usually by the use of spoken words which accompany the act and release those powers by the mere utterance of their prescribed wording....." (23)

Baptism for Paul has these effects:-

(1) Purification from Sin

Paul is here presenting the general Christian view of baptism. In this respect it is baptism "in the name of the Lord", spoken over the candidate to impart the power of the name to him. By this process the candidate is "stamped" as the property of Christ and placed under his protection. This is proved by the use of the term 'seal' (σφραγίς) which Paul uses in this connection (24). The naming drives out evil spirits (the supposed cause of sins) by its intrinsic exorcistic power. In a less negative sense it puts the baptized under the protection of the *Κυριος* for the future and secures him against demonic influences.

(2) Bestowal of the Holy Spirit

This is a general Christian view presupposed by Paul when he appeals to it as a thing to be taken for granted (25). It is also present in Ephesians 1,13 and 4,30. It is in this particular aspect that the Church sees the specific difference of its baptism from that of John (26).

(3) Baptism imparts participation in the death and resurrection of Christ

This tradition arose in the Hellenistic church which understood the traditional initiation sacrament on analogy with the initiation sacraments of the mystery religions. The meaning of the latter is to impart to the initiates a share in the fate of the cult-deity who has suffered death and has reawakened to life, e.g. Attis, Adonis, Osiris. This is/

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(23) "Theology of the New Testament, Volume 1, p.135

(24) 2 Cor. 1,22

(25) 1 Cor. 12,13; 2 Cor. 1,22.

(26) Acts 19, 1-6

is not a reproduction of Jesus's death. Nevertheless, baptism is a means of incorporation into Christ, and as such is the means of initiation into full membership of the Christian body.

(4) Baptism is a form of re-birth

Again there is a parallel with the thought of the mystery religions. While the terminology is not explicit, the thought is certainly implicit in 2 Cor. 5,17 (27).

Paul interpreted baptism as "an existence determined by Christ's death and resurrection and hence to understand the sacrament as an actualization, here and now, of the occurrence of salvation....." (28).

Baptism is thus sacramental in Paul's eyes in this respect that it mediates by outward sign and symbol the grace of God which is present here and now in the incorporation into Christ which takes place when the believer is baptized. In this sense, too, it is an initiation rite into the full membership of the Christian $\epsilon\chi\kappa\lambda\eta\sigma\iota\alpha$. . Baptism is not the most important thing for Paul, but it is vital in that it gives the "earnest" of things to come, now, at the present time, whenever baptism is administered. It is part of the New Life in Christ in the Old Life, the overlapping of the Two Ages, the irruption of the Reign of God.

There are two points of similarity between Pauline baptism and Qumran baptism. Both are very much initiation rites, admitting the neophyte into full membership of the religious body, the last step and consummation of the catechumenate. Both are sacramental in that for Paul baptism brings here and now the participation in the New Life to Come, the product of the New Covenant effected by the death of Jesus, while in Qumran it is a similar participation in a New Covenant also. There are differences, too. Paul is not concerned with baptism as a ritual lustration for day to day physical defilement: Paul's baptism is once for all, while that of Qumran is repetitive. But the differences must not blind us to the fact that both have basically similar lines of thought/

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(27) Compare Gal. 3,37; Rom. 6,3

(28) Bultmann, op.cit., p.144

thought on this feature of religious faith and life, and perhaps if we trace the ancestry of each, we will find that they come from the same parent stock in Judaism.

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CHAPTER FIVE

"The Ethical Thought of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Letters of Paul"

THE ETHICAL THOUGHT OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND THE LETTERS OF PA

In the corpus of the Dead Sea Scrolls there is no specific ethical instruction laid down in any particular section devoted to that purpose. Instead, ethical injunctions are widely scattered throughout the texts, and it is only by searching diligently through these texts that such injunctions are discovered.

THE MANUAL OF DISCIPLINE. (1 QS)

Almost immediately there is a summing up of the ethical position in the following first few lines of the first section of this document:-

".....that they may love all that He has chosen and hate all that He has rejected; that they may abstain from all evil and hold fast to all good; that they may practise truth, righteousness, and justice upon earth and no longer stubbornly follow a sinful heart and lustful eyes committing all manner of evil. He shall admit into the Covenant of Grace all those who have freely devoted themselves to the observance of God's precepts, that they may be joined to the counsel of God and may live perfectly before Him in accordance with all that has been revealed concerning their appointed times, and that they may love all the sons of light, each according to his lot in God's design, and hate all the sons of darkness, each according to his guilt in God's vengeance."

On the kinds of thing which God has chosen and rejected, it is instructive to note the words of the Zadokite, or Damascus, Document (ZD) Section Two:-

"God loves knowledge. Wisdom and understanding He has set before Him, and prudence and knowledge serve Him. Patience and much forgiveness are with Him towards those who turn from transgression; but power, might, and great flaming wrath by the hand of all the Angels of Destruction towards those who depart from the way and abhor the Precept. They shall have no remnant or survivor. For from the beginning God chose them not;"
Here/

Here, perhaps, is the beginnings of a doctrine of Predestination, which so pervades the thought of the Scrolls. The "sons of light," refer to the just, i.e. the members of the sect themselves, and the "sons of darkness" the unjust, the ungodly, all who do not belong to the sect. The "lot" is Destiny, and for both it has been fixed from all eternity; the sons of light are predestined to be men of "God's design", and the others to be sons of "God's vengeance". All this points to a strong doctrine of predestination.

The term "Covenant of Grace" means the Covenant of the sect entered into on initiation into the sect's membership, who believed themselves to be constituted by the grace or mercy of God. This covenant leads to almost complete identification with God, as seen in the term "joined to the Counsel of God," giving rise to the belief that the Council of the Community owed its existence to the Counsel of God, so that the Council, when it made a decision after deliberating according to what it held to be the divinely ordered procedure, could almost identify itself with the Counsel of God. This idea, as A.R.C. Leaney points out, is not foreign to the New Testament (1); Acts 1,24-26 makes an excellent commentary on this fusion of Council with Counsel:-

"And they prayed and said, 'Lord, who knowest the hearts of all men, show which one of these two thou hast chosen to take the place in this ministry and apostleship from which Judas turned aside, to go to his own place'. And they cast lots for them, and the lot fell on Matthias; and he was enrolled with the eleven apostles". (RSV).

Acts 15,28, may reflect the practice of regarding corporate decision after prayer as that of the Holy Spirit (The Counsellor) as well as of the Church Council:-

"For it has seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us....."

The injunction to "hate the sons of darkness" must not be taken in too literal a sense. It means "to abhor", to shrink from contamination by the evil object hated. It is in this sense that the sons of light are to hate the sons of darkness, because they/
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(1) "The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning", p.120

they are God's enemies rather than personal enemies.

An eschatological note creeps in at the end of this passage in referring to the Vengeance of God. This is very eschatological in the conception being that in the final judgement, at the end of this present age, God will vindicate and indeed avenge his Elect.

This first section of IQS. is a very good summary of the many ethical/theological ideas which are to be found in other parts of the corpus. Note especially the basic dualism between Light and Dark, Good and Evil, which colours all subsequent ethical thought and writing.

Section 2-3

At the close of Section 2 and continuing into the first paragraph of Section 3 there are some lines of ethical interest

".....For according to the holy design, they shall all of them be in a Community of truth and virtuous humility, of lovingkindness and good intent one towards the other, and (they shall all of them be) sons of the everlasting Company.

No man (shall remain in the) Community of His truth who refuses to enter (the ways of) God so that he may walk in the stubbornness of his heart, for (III) his soul detests the wise teaching of just laws. He shall not be counted among the upright for he has not confirmed the conversion of his life. His knowledge, powers, and possessions shall not enter the Council of the Community, for whoever ploughs the mud of wickedness returns defiled. He shall not be justified by that which his stubborn heart declares lawful, for seeking the ways of light he looks towards darkness. He shall not be reckoned among the perfect; he shall neither be purified by atonement, nor cleansed by purifying waters, nor sanctified by seas and rivers, nor washed clean with any ablution. Unclean, unclean shall he be. For as long as he despises the precepts of God he shall receive no instruction in the Community of His counsel."

It is clear from this section that it was vitally necessary for/

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for a member of the Covenant to surrender himself entirely to the Community, to be perfectly obedient and disciplined, and to renounce his own will, otherwise he did not truly belong to it. Importance is put on the internal disposition, rather than on external adherence, and if this was lacking, then the purificatory initiation rites would have no effect on him. Evidently there is no other way of entering the Community except by taking part in the Covenant ceremony.

This section sets out the basic ideas of Sin and Guilt which were adhered to by the sect. Leaney gives a very full comment

"The sect is the first group within Judaism of whom we know who believed that moral failure (Sin in our modern sense) incurred ritual defilement. They taught that to be cleansed from sin demanded both repentance and ritual purification. Emphasis in this passage of the Rule falls upon the fact that ritual uncleanness still clings to a man who has performed the necessary purification rituals, unless he has undergone the necessary inner purification which the spirit of true counsel will give him if he submits to the prescribed disciplines". (2)

In the passing note that this is basically the thought behind the baptism of John, whose novelty was that he was demanding that ritual cleansing was insufficient to free men from sin.

Section 3 then proceeds to set out the Doctrine of the Two Spirits at work in the lives of men. This leads on to Section 4 which contains the natural outcome of these two spirits - the catalogues of virtues and vices - to which a special paper has been devoted. (3)

Section 5

Here there is very definitely laid down a doctrine of separation for members of the Community. The norm for right conduct is strict adherence to the law. Such references to separation at once call to mind that of the Scribes and Pharisees of the New Testament. The Pharisees formed 'chaburoth', fellowships for keeping the Law; a member of any chaburah undertook to keep the

Law/

(2) Op.cit., p.139

(3) Appendix

Law in the same detailed way as his fellow members. Thus it was possible for a chaburah to eat and drink together without fear of ceremonial defilement. The Scribes are understood most clearly when they develop into the guardians of the Law in its implicit and explicit detail, for every person in every situation of life. The Qumran sect may be regarded as analogous to a chaburah of this kind, the obvious common characteristic being their separation from the rest of Israel for the purpose of keeping the Law as they interpreted it.

The section continues with a renewed emphasis on the virtues of truth, humility, righteousness and charity, which is in the same style as the list of virtues in the previous section. The object of practising this way of life is to make atonement for sin. This the sect does by its purity of life morally and ceremonially, for all who join it with the intention of attaining Holiness or Truth, or both. It is a cleansing community which purifies those who join it by absorbing them into its life. There seems to be two objects, looked for by:-

(a) those in Aaron who have freely pledged themselves to holiness.

(b) those in Israel who have freely pledged themselves to the House of Truth.

Members belonging to priestly families would seek a restoration of holiness, while those who belong to other tribes seek that of faithfulness - or loyalty to the Law, called here Truth. Either priest or layman would by attaining his own appropriate aim necessarily find the other also.

Then follows a section of the Laws of the Community. Note that mention is made of "returning with all his heart and soul to EVERY COMMANDMENT OF THE LAW OF MOSES", showing that the covenant into which each member enters is virtually identical with that which Moses effected for Israel, and is therefore a renewal of a covenant. To enter the covenant, therefore, obviously implies a promise to return to the Law of Moses.

Then/

Then there is a repetition of the earlier thought that Man is not cleansed by ritual cleansing alone. Repentance is also necessary to that process. It is clear that once admitted to the novitiate, progress or demotion can result from an annual scrutiny of "spirit and deeds". Here is the first hint of Punishment in the sect's ethical code. Rebukes, however, are to be given in humility and charity, following the principle of Leviticus 19,17f., that admonition must be given without anger or delay. Note the emphasis that the rebuke must be given on the same day as the offence was committed, so that the sun does not go down on a situation or an action that has called forth anger. This is to avoid "incurring guilt" by prolonging the guilty state of the transgressor by not bringing his fault into the light so that atonement can be made for it. Leaney says:-

"Behind this there probably lies the fundamental day/night conception, according to which it is felt that the man with the unatoned fault upon him will fall more deeply under the dominion of Belial when darkness (the sphere of Belial) supervenes upon light". (4)

Section 6

This section contains what might be termed the "penitential code" of the community and goes on to the end of Section 8. Note that the very first crime and punishment listed concerns property. There also seems to have been a terrible punishment for thoughtless blasphemy, although if this blasphemy has been uttered as a result of torture, or because it is unavoidable in the process of worship, it is permissible. Then follows a list of several sins and their punishments. Obviously this reflects the high esteem in which the sect held such virtues as Truth and Honour.

Note the laws against malice and revenge. Behind this stands Leviticus 19,18 - genuine concern is shown for harmony, love and kindness between the members of the sect.

The regulations concerning nakedness are very close to the description given by Josephus in his account of the life of the Essenes. Even/

(4) Op.cit., p.179

Even when relieving themselves it was considered sinful to allow the body to be seen, and so the penalty against "accidental" nakedness, i.e. exposing the genitals, is laid down as thirty days, the lightness of the sentence ruling out any question of grave or intentional indecency.

The regulation concerning the use of the left hand is interesting. According to M. Dupont-Sommer, the Therapeutae showed their disapproval of an orator by a sign with the right hand. To use the left would be grossly insulting. (5)

Then follow regulations concerning readmittance of lapsed members. If anyone left the sect, voluntarily, because of a feeling of unworthiness or inability to practise the severities of the sect's disciplined life, then his discouragement was not held against him. However if he desired re-admittance he had to start at the very beginning again, and go through the full two years novitiate as laid down in Section 6 of IQS. The case of a man who had been a member for ten years and who then had left, was different. It was considered that such a person must, after ten years, be fully broken in to the discipline and to the ascetic life, and that therefore there could be no excuse for his departure. His excommunication was quite irrevocable.

Section 8

In the first paragraph there is a re-iteration of the practise of the virtues of "truth, righteousness, justice, lovingkindness and humility," as laid down in Section 5.

Section 9

This section begins with several regulations concerning sins of "inadvertence!" Nothing further is said about them and thus it can only be assumed that here is an echo of the kind of sins mentioned in Section 7.

Section 11/

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(5) "The Essene Writings from Qumran", p.89 footnote 4.

Section 11

A few lines of this hymn express ethical virtues:-

"As for me,
if I stumble, the mercies of God
shall be my eternal salvation.
If I stagger because of the sin of the flesh,
my justification shall be
by the righteousness of God which endures for ever.
When my distress is unleashed
He will deliver my soul from the Pit
and will direct my steps to the way,
He will draw me near by His grace,
and by His mercy will He bring my justification.
He will judge me in the righteousness of His truth,
and in the greatness of his goodness
He will pardon all my sins.
Through His righteousness He will cleanse me
of the uncleanness of man
and of the sins of the children of men,
that I may confess to God His righteousness,
and His majesty to the Most High". lines 60-78.

Here is a doctrine of salvation relying entirely on the mercy of God, and what in the New Testament was termed "Justification". It is the righteousness of God which cleanses men from their sins, and not adherence to laws, reinforcing the idea that the repentant spirit was required as well as legal rectitude, to free men from Sin.

The Damascus Rule

There are only a few references to ethics in this work, compared with the abundant numbers in IQS. However, such as there are are noted and examined.

Section 4

".....Interpreted, these are the three nets of Satan with which Levi son of Jacob said that he catches Israel by setting/

setting them up as three kinds of righteousness. The first is riches, the second is fornication, and the third is profanation of the Temple. Whoever escapes the first is caught in the second, and whoever saves himself from the second is caught in the third".

Lust, riches, and defiled worship - three vices which were at the very root of the sect's existence. Their ascetic life with pooling of property could be a reaction to this hatred of riches; their sexual continence (though not necessarily absolute chastity) a reaction against lust; and their own purity of worship a reaction against the profane Temple worship of the Hasmonean Age. These three vices, it could be said, were the very things, the existence of which in the world, caused the members of the sect to withdraw from the world, and form themselves into a monastic sect.

Section 6-7

Members of the sect shall live by the Law, which has very definite social implications:-

"They shall take care to act according to the exact interpretation of the Law during the age of wickedness. They shall separate from the sons of the Pit, and shall keep away from the unclean riches of wickedness acquired by vow or anathems or from the Temple treasure; they shall not rob the poor of His people, to make of widows their prey and of the fatherless their victim. They shall distinguish between clean and unclean, they shall proclaim the difference between holy and profane. They shall keep the Sabbath day according to its exact interpretation, and the feasts and the Day of Fasting according to the finding of the members of the New Covenant in the land of Damascus. They shall set aside the holy things according to the exact teaching concerning them. They shall love each man his brother as himself; they shall succour the poor, the needy, and the stranger.

A man shall seek his brother's well being (7) and shall not sin against his near kin. They shall keep from fornication according to the statute. They shall rebuke each man his brother according to the commandment and shall bear no rancour from one

day/
(7)

.....

day to the next. They shall keep apart from every uncleanness according to the statutes relating to each one, and no man shall defile his holy spirit since God has set them apart....."

Comment here is superfluous.

Clearly the ethics of the Scrolls were very forthright. Strictly purity of personal life, adherence to the Law, social concern - this was the code of life to be followed. It was one which had one difference from contemporary Judaism - that it laid emphasis on penitence of the soul as a necessary precondition for Salvation. Neither the Law nor Repentance could save by themselves each was necessary for the other. It was in this respect that the way was opened for a valuable contact with "Pauline" Christianity, in that Paul regarded Law as vital for making people aware of their sin, so that they could repent and turn to God and accept His forgiveness and love.

.....

The Ethical Thought of St. Paul

Just as the letters of St. Paul were very 'ad hoc' creations written in haste to very different types of Christian congregations and therefore very different in content, so it is impossible to state that Paul's ethical thought can be neatly compartmented from his 'theology', or his 'sacramentalism'. Rather is it the case that the ethical thought of Paul must be 'extracted' from the mass of existing material in his letters, and as the letters were not written in a systematic fashion, it is no surprise to find that his ethical thought is similarly unsystematic. Paul's interests, as betrayed in the course of his letters, show that he had a strongly practical purpose in writing; for example, the letters to the congregation at Corinth were the results of specific problems which had arisen there, problems of a very practical nature, dealing with Christian behaviour and practice. Other letters, such as the Roman one or the Galatian, involve problems of a less practical kind, and more of a theological nature, but still written to meet a situation which was upsetting the church at a specific time and place, and which had to be dealt with speedily in order to maintain the integrity of that church. One consistent point about Paul is his uniformity of letter structure, which follows this pattern:-

- (a) Salutation, involving the names of sender and recipient.
- (b) Reference to recipient's health.
- (c) Thanksgiving on part of sender to God.
- (d) Main body of letter.
- (e) Farewell.

In his farewell sections, Paul regularly includes some moral or ethical exhortation for the edification of the recipients.

It could also be said that Paul was using ethical material which was part of the tradition of the church, which he had received after his conversion experience on the Damascus Road. His account of the Institution of the Lord's Supper in 1 Corinthians 11, clearly implies that he had 'received' some kind of tradition from the early church, which he was passing on. It is only to be expected/

expected that Paul was treated no differently from any other convert, and received theological and ethical teaching after baptism. Therefore much of Paul's ethical thought is not new, and must have been familiar to many of his listeners and readers. This in turn was a point which Paul kept emphasising to his listeners, i.e. that there was no division between Theology and Ethics. Salvation implied ethical righteousness. He emphasised the clean break made by redemption; a man becomes a new creation in Christ (6); the former slaves of sin are now servants of righteousness (7); those who walk in the Spirit enjoy the fruits of the Spirit (8); conduct must be worthy of the gospel of Christ (9); God's chosen people have as garments, compassion, kindness etc. (10); the time is past for being dead in sin - God has saved us for a new kind of life, united with Him (11).

This inextricable connection between Theology and Ethics is underlined by D.E. WHITELEY, who points out how every "article" of the church's kerygma was connected by Paul with moral exhortation. He writes:-

- "(a) The Fulfilment of Scripture. 1 Cor. 10,11.
- (b) The Coming of the Messiah. In the "Incarnation Hymn" of Philip. 2,5-11, the Incarnation, Death, Resurrection and Heavenly Session of Christ are all employed to the end that the Philippians may have the right bearing towards one another.
- (c) The Crucifixion. Rom. 14,15.
- (d) The Burial. Rom 6,41.
- (e) The Resurrection and Heavenly Session. Col.3,1-2.
- (f) The Sending of the Spirit. Gal. 5,25.
- (g) The Judgement. 2 Cor. 5,10." (12)

As Whiteley pungently comments, "No dichotomy between Heilsgeschichte and Morality" (13). It is because we are 'in Christ', that our loves bear the imprint of His example..Just as the experience of Jesus at His Baptism necessitated for him the finding of a way of life, an ethic, so, too, the Christian's baptism/

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|-----|---------------------|-----|-------------|------|-----------------------------|
| (6) | 2 Cor. 5,17 | (8) | Gal. 5,22f. | (10) | Col.3,12. |
| (7) | Rom.6,17-19 | (9) | Philip 1,27 | (11) | Eph.2,1-10 |
| | (13) Op.cit., p.206 | | | (12) | "Theology of St.Paul, p.205 |

baptism is a time for ethical instruction. Whiteley says that the apostle tradition comprised, in addition to kerygmatic and liturgical elements, standard moral instruction, expressed in similar words and arranged under certain standard themes. In baptism, the Christian, by faith in Christ, has renounced evil, and if he practises the gross sins which he has already renounced, he cannot rely complacently on baptism. The fact of Temptation must be faced squarely and openly by the Christian, and he will be judged in accordance with how he reacts to it. The possibility of succumbing to it is a very real one which ought not to be ignored. By "putting on Christ", the Christian has accepted the possibility of possessing the Kingdom of God. Apart from Christ, this would have been wholly impossible. Initially, therefore, the ethics of the Christian life, according to Paul, are firmly rooted in the process of saving history, of Redemption from Sin through the Blood of Christ. There is no division between Religion and Ethics. The one necessarily implies the other.

Paul believed that the Second Coming of Christ was to be expected at any time, and it was only gradually as his life progressed that he realised that it would not happen in his lifetime. But his thought on the Second Coming influenced his ethical thinking to a very large extent, for his ethics are very much "interim-ethics", a morality not fixed and permanent, but intended for a temporary and transient period, either until the Kingdom of Heaven was fully revealed, or until Jesus re-appeared. For Paul the Kingdom was an eschatological thing, something external to be consummated in the future, and also something internal, a kind of spiritual reality which can be experienced here and now. Ethics were necessary so that the new churches and believers should be in a proper state to meet the Messiah. Also it was thought that the new churches could attract believers if it could show an example of morality and uprightness both in its individual members, and in itself as an organization. But the ethics propounded are still strongly coloured by the feeling that Paul's age was a transitionary period between the end of the Old Age, and the ushering/

ushering in of the New Age of the Kingdom of God and the Lordship of Christ.

The starting point of Paul's ethics lies in his ideas of salvation. This word - σωτηρια - is at one and the same time a concern for the here-and-now. Negatively it is deliverance from moral failure, moral guilt and a sense of moral impotence; positively it is the ability to make headway in the moral life, the sense of having and using moral power and achievement. It is a progressive process, which is complete only when a man is utterly freed from Evil and utterly dedicated to Good. For Salvation it was necessary to have a covenant with God, and to observe its terms. The Covenant was a necessary condition, but insufficient without obedience. Prior to Christ it was impossible for Gentiles to be saved under this scheme of things, since they were outside the Covenant. But in Christ, God gave the Gentiles a New Covenant, so that they now possessed the first condition for salvation, which they had never done before. In Christ God offered both Jew and Gentile, for the first time, the power to fulfil the Covenant. This was the Law, the Torah, given by God through Moses, and to understand Paul's ethics it is necessary to know what the Law is and was, and how Paul regarded it.

The Torah included not only legal ordinances, and examples of case-law, but also national history, myths and legends of the nation's great heroes of the past. It might be said that it was a guidebook to the Israelite way of life, since it included ordinances governing every section of normal life; ordinances concerning feasts as well as legal and religious observances. But most important it included accounts of what God had done for Israel. The very fact that the body of legal ordinances were set in the framework of the events of the Exodus from Egypt makes it fair to say that the Law was not mere "moralism", but included the moral requirements of God placed in a framework of salvation history, and in particular, of God's covenant with his people. It was the expression of the daily way of life, and was the means of keeping alive the sense of God, together with the cultic persons and places, especially the Temple with its elaborate round of sacrifices/

sacrifices and rituals. Initially the Law was never so important as Sacrifice, but during the Babylonian Captivity (589-539 B.C.), the Law was the only possession left to the Jews, and, therefore, it was during this time that study of the Law began in a serious fashion, and the whole edifice of Judaism shifted its centre of gravity from Sacrifice to Legalism. When the Jews were allowed to return to their own land, one of their number, Ezra, is said to have had a public reading of the Law before the assembled people (445 B.C.). G.F. Moore is in no doubt that Ezra was the restorer of the Law (14). He had brought the Pentateuch from Babylonia, and was chiefly instrumental in getting it put into force as the law of the returned exiles in Judea. But the whole point about Ezra's reforms was that he had not only read the Law in the Hebrew in which it was given, but he had taken pains that it should be understood by having it rendered orally into the vernacular Aramaic as it was read. Hence the institution of the "Targums" was referred to him.. It is at this time that the beginnings of the unwritten law, the Scribal Law, can be found. The Law might be a final Law, but it was not a finished Law. Many things were missing from it. Moore writes:-

"Many things which had, from a time when the memory of man ran not to the contrary, been generally observed and were regarded as necessary and binding were not contained in it at all. Some of these figure in later times as 'traditions of Moses from Sinai'; others as ordinances of Ezra, or of the prophets of his time, or of the men of the Great Synagogue, or more indefinitely of the Soferim, or the Early Elders".(15)

To some the Law was a delight, as the writer of Psalm 119, but to others it was a burden. For gradually there was growing up the belief that Salvation was a matter of adherence to the Law, of fulfilling its minutest requirements in every detail. It was at this point that the thought of Paul diverged.

Paul's position in the early church seems from the start to have been distinguished from that of the other apostles by the fact that, as regards the question of the validity of the Law in/ (14) "Judaism" Vol.1, p.29..... (15) Op.cit.,p.30

in the Christian faith, he saw a conflict where the rest, in discipleship to their Lord, saw only a harmonious combination. For Paul the combination of Law and the Messiah was untenable. The Letters in which the question of the Law is discussed, (basically Romans and Galatians), do not contain any direct debate with the Jews, and were written not even for exclusively Jewish Christians, but for mixed Christian communities of the Jewish Diaspora.

The abolition of the Law (16) is a Messianological doctrine in Pauline theology. It became a burning issue as a result of the Resurrection. In fact, the whole of Paul's theology is a re-thinking of all the ideas concerned with that event. The Age of the Law is over, for the Law was valid only until "all things were fulfilled". Since the resurrection of Jesus the validity of the Law as a divine way of salvation has ceased, a fact which proves both the Messianic status of Jesus, and the inbreak of the New Age. Paul in Rom. 7,1 lays down the idea that the Law is binding on a man only as long as he is alive; therefore, the man who is "dead" to this present, wicked age has become free of the control of the Law. In the world of the future, which has already begun with the resurrection of Jesus, the validity of the Law has ceased. This is paralleled in traditional Rabbinic literature, where there is the opinion that in the Messianic era⁴ the Old Torah will cease together with the Evil Impulse לְבַב הָרָע , but that God would give men a new Torah through the Messiah. This is also found in Matthew 5,17-20, and in Paul's νόμος Χριστοῦ of love (17), or the νόμος πίστεως . (18).

To demonstrate the "unfulfillability" of the Law, Paul, in Gal. 3,10-13, uses the idea of the "curse" of the Law as found in Leviticus 26, and Deuteronomy 28. Every man inevitably stands under the curse of the Law because no man " $\text{πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τοῦ καταράματος τοῦ νόμου}$ ". Paul merely indicates this idea in passing, taking it for granted that his readers are sufficiently familiar with the passages in question. In this section there are several

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(16) Rom. 10,4. (17) Gal. 6,2. (18) Rom.3,27.

strands of thought which are vital for a proper understanding of Paul's thinking about the Law. They are.-

- (1) The implication of common experience that no man can be made righteous before God on the basis of Law (19). Here the tacit assumption is that no man is capable of fulfilling the Law. Paul understands Deut. 27,26 in the light of Rabbinic tradition. His implied meaning, that no man can fulfil the Law, is really intended to suggest the whole Law in its 613 Commands and prohibitions. It is for this reason that the curse of the Law strikes every man for the complete observance of the Law, i.e. among sinners, does not exist. Gal.5,3 confirms that he regards the fulfilment of the whole Law as the obligation, unrealizable in his opinion, which alone can free us from the Law's curse.
- (2) The assertion of Gal. 3, 10-11a, that no-one can be righteous before God through the Law is proved by Paul (in vv.11,12), from the consideration that the Law cancels itself.
- (3) The Crucifixion of the Messiah was in truth His elevation, as was promised for Yahweh's servant in Isaiah 52,13, and it took place in order to do away the curse of the Law by the realization of that curse, "for he became a curse for us". The problem of the curse finds a solution in its transformation into a blessing.

In Galatians, Paul, taking as his starting point the death of Jesus as a saving event, and surveying retrospectively the meaning of the Law, concludes that the Law was a *παράδογμα* because Scripture consigned all things to sin (20), in order that, when the time was fulfilled (21), through faith in Jesus Christ the promise should be fulfilled in those who believe (22). Christ is the end of the Law, because, through the atoning efficacy of His blood He has satisfied the requirements of the Law, and now by divine grace effects what the Law could not, viz. forgiveness of sin/

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- (19) Deut. 27,26
 - (20) Gal. 3,22a
 - (21) Gal. 4,4
 - (22) Gal. 3,22b

sin. As the One who fulfils the Torah, Christ is the $\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma \nu\epsilon\rho\omega\varsigma$, and in taking its place and assuming its functions He also takes over its predicates of honour and salvation. Hence the Law culminates in Christ.

The final consequence of this curse of the Law is:- for the interim period up to its termination by the death of Christ, the Law had relative significance. Its interim character is seen in the fact that it was merely a provisional arrangement. To support this, Paul does not attempt to criticize the content of the law given on Sinai, but puts forward a theory of its supposed origin, which leads him to the most reckless conclusions. He derives his "proof" from Jewish folk-lore, which indicates that the Law was given not by God, but by angels (23). The presence of angels at the event of the giving of the Law was a favourite bit of embroidery in Rabbinic tradition, and was meant to enhance the glory of Sinai. But not angels as law-givers. Paul goes a step further and seriously declares that no-one other than Moses functioned as the mediatory ($\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota$) of the angels. In the last analysis this means that the Law springs not from God, but from angels.

The Law is inextricably bound up with the problem of Sin, and in Romans 7, Paul gives a lengthy discourse on the subject. Although there may be autobiographical elements in this chapter, it is more likely it is to be understood symbolically as a description of the life of all Jews, including that of Saul, just as chapter 8 describes symbolically the life of all Christians, including that of Paul.

Briefly, the meaning of chapter 7 might be said to be as follows:- Spirit and Flesh, Will and Ability, the Law of God and the Law of Sin, are locked in an unceasing conflict in the heart of Man. This struggle is carried on with unequal resources, because the Law of God brings into operation only man's will, whereas actual practical conduct is determined by the Law of Sin, i.e. by the fleshly nature of Man (24). This description, behind which lies a conception of sin as a daemonic power which, as it were/
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(23) Gal. 3, 19.

(24) Rom. 7, 14-23.

were, has taken control of man, must be regarded as a striking contribution to the Rabbinic doctrine of the struggle between *yeveh* (evil impulse) and *yeveh tov* (good impulse), which was a favourite theme of discussion in the age of Paul. The usual Rabbinic teaching insisted upon an equipoise of both impulses and claimed that it lay in man's free will to decide which of the two he would follow. But Man's inherent tendency to sin, which was implanted in him at birth with *yeveh* is compensated by the Torah, which was adapted to the whole will and nature of Man.

Paul has understood the Law as a sum of prescriptions and has played off the fact of sin as offence against the commands. But the power of sin was never able to dissipate the faith of the Jewish teachers in the "fulfillability" of the Law. Paul, however, arrived at the fundamental conviction that man is basically incapable of doing the will of God. Unlike Jesus and the prophets, Paul did not summon men to Repentance; he set little value on man's freedom of decision and discounted the fact that he is able to turn against God. The reason for this is simply that *metanoia* (repentance by its relation to the death and resurrection of Jesus was wholly subsumed in *πίστις* (faith). The advent of the Messiah signified the great revolution of all things. Faith in Him made the conversion of the individual soul unnecessary.

As far as the antithesis Adam/Christ is concerned, this again is a popular Messianological motif. Paul uses it chiefly for the purpose of showing how the death of Jesus, because of His sinlessness breaks the chain which binds humanity to Adam, the father of Sin. His self-sacrificing death, the death of a faultless man, is able in the view of Paul, to expiate sin. The failure of the Law of Moses could thus be compensated and wiped out by *metanoia*.

Sin is further defined as the object of a recognition which the Law has brought about (25). The awareness of Sin as *harmosyne* is described by Paul from a psychological angle as the special effect of the Law. Paul's whole train of thought in this chapter seven is summed up in v.1 and v.4, viz. the obligation of the Law ceases/
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(25) Rom. 7,7f.

ceases as death intervenes. Paul means that the Messiah in His death had died to the Law, and is no longer subject to the obligations of the Law. Through the Messiah's resurrection this has a practical meaning for all those who through faith and baptism (26) have shared His death and entered with Him into the new age. Thus, all Christians are freed from bondage to the Law.

It is time to have a look at Paul's ethical terminology, but as a separate paper has been devoted in large measure to this very subject, a brief examination should suffice.

Paul sees a basic clash between Evil and Goodness, each of which have various kinds of "fruit" attached to them.

EVIL

Under this general heading fall five particular types of sin:- sexual sins, debauchery, sins of speech, selfishness, bad relations with others.

(1) Sexual Sins

The viciousness of the ancient world was well known, even in its own time. All kinds of sexual infidelities, perversions and corruptions were common practice. It was said that people married to be divorced, and were divorced to be married. Adultery was looked upon a normal, and chastity was not regarded as a special virtue. Even in religion, sexual practices were carried on, the theory behind them being that through intercourse with a temple prostitute the worshipper could be united with the deity worshipped. The viciousness of such a place as the sea-port of Corinth was legendary, and in fact the town was so famous, or infamous, for its vice that it gave birth to a verb *ἐκείνῳ*, which meant "to indulge in vice". Perhaps it may be more accurate to say that sexual sins were more prevalent among the Gentiles, since the Jewish Law code was strictly against unlawful sex, as leading to defilement. Paul's word to cover most sexual sins was "*πορνεία*", "wickedness", summing up under one heading all the individual sexual sins. The Christian lives in the flesh, but not according to the flesh, was Paul's attitude. It may well have been the case that many Christian converts, especially Gentile ones, were

(26) Rom. 6.

were slow to rid themselves of this particular part of their former lives, as implied by 1 Cor. 6,13. Paul, in other words, has a much loftier conception of the importance of the body (σῶμα) than was held in contemporary faiths and philosophies. Paul dissociates himself entirely from that contempt of the flesh, the material part of man, as inherently evil, which was prevalent in Greek philosophy, especially in Stoicism, in his own time. For Paul the body is holy, and it too, an integral part of man, has been redeemed and renewed by Christ (27). This is especially so in 1 Cor. 12, where the analogy is drawn of the Christian as being a limb, member or organ of the Body of Christ. This is why there must be no πορνεία among Christians; for if they misuse or defile their bodies, they are at the same time defiling the Body of Christ.

(2) Debauchery

Those who indulge in drunken bouts (μεθύειν), and carousings (καμπεύειν), cannot inherit the Kingdom of God, and Paul brands them as morally evil (28). He urges the Ephesians to seek the stimulus and inspiration of the Holy Spirit instead (29).

(3) Sins of Speech

Paul has three terms under this general heading:-

- (a) Corrupt speech - σαυροῦς λόγος
- (b) Foul language - αἰόλοχρηλογία
- (c) Scurrilous jesting - εὐτραπελία

There are also such phrases as:-

- inane chatter - ρωρολογία
- gossips and scandalmongers - ψιθυρισταί
- defamers - καταλάλια
- abusive speech - βλασφημία
- abuse - ἀνιδρυία

(4) Selfishness

μεγαλοψυχία - colossal selfishness. This is the internal disposition. αἰσχρολογία is the external conduct which has its roots in a material point of view. It is a direct antithesis to ἀγάπη - love. Paul denounces the rapacity

(27) 1. Cor.6. cf.Eph.4,17ff. (29) Eph.5,18.

(28) 1 Cor, 6,10. Rom.13,13

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(ἡ γαργαλία) which makes a man a swindler (ἡ πωξία) and the violent contempt for the rights and interests of others (ὁ βρισησμός) which makes a man an intolerably overbearing individual (ὁ βρισηστικός).

(5) Bad relations with others

Paul condemns feuds (ἡ ἐχθρότης), strife/rivalry (ἡ ἐρις), quarrelling (ἡ φιλονεικία), jealousy (ἡ ζήλος), envy (ἡ φθόνη), outburst of temper (ἡ θυμολογία).

He also condemns such things as faithlessness in agreements (ὁ ἀπιστίας), and all kinds of craftiness (ὁ δόλος) and malevolence (ἡ κακοψυχία).

GOODNESS

Under this heading fall the "fruits of the Spirit", as listed in Gal. 5,22ff - love, joy, peace etc.

(1) LOVE - ἡ ἀγάπη

A.B. Alexander writes:-

"Love is the first and last word of apostolic Christianity.

ἡ ἀγάπη was the discovery and creation of the Gospel. Love is completely central in Paul's ethics. Love is the one enduring virtue. It is the material and faith and the principle of Christian virtue. Love is the moral completeness embracing in its scope our duties both to God and Man".(30)

Love was for Paul the consideration and care for man based on lively recognition of human value and of sacredness of human personality, characterised by the active desire to confer benefits. 1 Cor. 13 is supremely the basis of Paul's ethics, the great "Hymn to Love". ἡ ἀγάπη is central and all comprehensive in the moral life of relationships. Therefore, the Kingdom of God is "rooted and grounded in love". (31)

(2) Joy - ἡ χαρά This is the sense that life has a deep, intense meaning, not purposeless as the Greek philosophers would have said. Life is good. This sense has a religious base, and gives rise, on the ethical side to the unquenchable conviction/.....

(30) "The Ethics of St. Paul", p.191 (31) Eph.3,17.

conviction that all that is meant by goodness is infinitely worthwhile.

- (3) Peace - εἰρήνη . The tranquillity of mind based on the consciousness of a right relation to God. It is the sign of a clear conscience.
- (4) Good Temper - μακροθυμία . The endurance of wrong and exasperating conduct on the part of others, without flying into a rage or passionately desiring vengeance. There are, however, times of righteous anger.
- (5) Kindness - χρηστότης . Goodness and kindness of heart is meant by this term. A man's spirituality is spurious if he fails in practical kindness to his fellow men.
- (6) Goodness - ἀγαθωσύνη . By this is meant that the good man has all the moral virtues of the righteous man plus a concern for others. In short, his righteousness, enhanced and made attractive by being permeated with love, is transformed into goodness.
- (7) Fidelity - πίστις . In an active sense this means "trust", or "faith". In a passive sense it is rather "trustworthiness". As "faith" is the root of the spiritual life, while as "fidelity" is one of its fruits. The implication is that the spiritual man is one who can be relied upon.
- (8) Gentleness - πραότης . This is self-suppression in view of the claims of others, and may involve high standards of courage. This leads Paul to renounce his right to live at the expense of the churches he served. He repeatedly points out that he lived by his own trade as a tent-maker (32)
- (9) Self -Control - ἐγκράτεια . This is self-mastery over all desires and impulses. Only as man controls and directs his instinctive energies can he rise in the ethical scale.

Paul's ethical thought may also be looked at under the heading, "The Ethics of Social Relations". Under this heading come aspects of life dealing with the Christian's relation to family, the/

(32) 1 Thess. 3,9; Philip 4,11.

the state and the world.

(a) Social Amelioration

The Ancient World had three lines of cleavage - race, social status, sex. Paul broke down these three barriers. For this the classic text is Gal.3,27-28. Here, Paul says that for a Christian, as a result of baptism into union with Christ, these very distinctions listed above have no meaning at all. Race breaks down, for there is neither Jew nor Greek; social status means nothing, for there is neither slave nor freeman; sex is no barrier for there is neither male nor female. Perhaps this "universalist" view of mankind is something which Paul owes to his background of the cosmopolitanism of Tarsus, his native city, where it was said, that all the world met on the docksides. Again the teaching of his teacher Gamaliel, who was very liberal in thought, must have strengthened this wide outlook. Undoubtedly, also, his own personal experiences as a missionary must have borne in upon him the contradictions between the Godpel and the social distinctions of his own day.

(b) Social Witness

Artificial distinctions of all kind in the world are abolished "ἐν Χριστῷ". For Paul this was not merely a theoretical matter, but a matter of fact which he had witnessed himself. It is well known that the early church was composed of people of every kind and class, from the highest to the lowest. This unity was the thing that marked out the Christian faith from all its contemporaries, although in fairness, it can be said that there was some anticipation of this in Judaism and Stoicism. Tarsus University, it is worthy of note, was a centre of Stoic teaching. It is likely that Paul was not unaware of their doctrines. But Paul, on the basis of his Christian experience, reached ideas similar to those of the Stoics, but he reached them independently, and what he took from Stoicism, he so recast and transformed that it became inwardly one with what he had learned from Christ. The spiritual experiences of the early Christians had shown Paul that any human being might become a Temple where the Spirit of God dwelt. Thus Paul realised that all material distinctions were superficial and illusory.

(c)/

(c) Jew and Gentile

The distinction here was not merely one of race. It was a theological matter also. The Jew was in possession of salvation through the Sinai Covenant with God, but the Gentile was completely outside the covenant, and therefore had no access to salvation. But now Jew and Gentile alike had access to God through Christ on exactly the same terms, i.e. full personal self-committal to Him (33).

(d) Master and Slave

Paul was more interested in the moral and the spiritual advance of slaves rather than in their physical emancipation. As a Christian, a slave could be inwardly free, and it is noteworthy that a large proportion of the early Christians were of the slave class. There is no suggestion in the writings of Paul that slaves ought to be emancipated. In the Letter to Philemon, concerned with a runaway slave, Paul advocates his return to his master. However, this does not mean that Paul was not concerned for the welfare of slaves. It was simply shrewdness on his part that he recognised that the time was not ripe for the abolition of slavery, and that any agitation for it would have resulted in frightful suffering and in the fixing of the fetters more firmly than ever on the wrists of the slaves who survived. Moreover, here is an illustration of the interim nature of Paul's ethical thought. He was not unduly concerned about the plight of the slaves (not all of whom were badly treated), as he expected the return of Christ and the end of the world, when all wrongs such as these would be put right.

(e) Man and Woman

Paul has often been portrayed as the arch-misogynist, but this is to do him an injustice, since it is thought that many of the sections in his writings against women are not to be attributed to him at all. Two such examples of this are:-

(1) 1 Cor. 14, 34f :- Note that the Western mss. of this text have positioned these verses after v.40, implying that they are later additions. Also the internal evidence is decisively against the/
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(33) Eph. 2, 11-16.

the authenticity of this passage, which interrupts the existing argument. What makes this passage even more suspicious is that in it Paul appeals to the Law to back up his argument, something which is contradictory to 1 Cor. 11,5 and 13.

(2) 1 Tim. 2,11f:- Without even examining this passage, it can be said that the probability is that the letter itself is not genuinely Pauline, although it may contain fragments of Pauline material. It may be that the content of this passage supplied the warrant to those who were responsible for the addition of the Corinthian passage to 1 Cor. 14. But the doubt as to the authenticity of the whole Timothy letter, automatically makes the authenticity of this passage even more dubious.

In point of fact, Paul seems to have had a very high opinion of women and their work, and several times in his writings he praises them, e.g. Euodia and Syntyche (34), Prisca and her husband Aquila (35), Phoebe (36), Mary (37), Tryphaena and Tryphosa (38), Julia, Nereus and sister (39). This is hardly a man who holds woman in contempt, but quite the opposite. Saul of Tarsus as a Jew must have shared the current low estimate of the position of women, as ranking with the bond-servants as exempt from the obligations of the Law, and a constant moral danger. But Paul the Christian apostle is one who sees no division between male and female, and has experienced the worth of women in his own work.

(f) Marriage

Paul is sympathetic to the ascetic view (40) and seems to be very grudging in his permission of marriage. Here again his idea of his time as an interim period is colouring his views. But Paul faces the fact that the average man is unfitted for a celibate life, and so he maintains that if celibacy leads to constant unrest or sexual irregularities, marriage is the preferable course. He commends celibacy on prudential grounds, for if the end of the world was at hand, the prominent consideration for every Christian man/
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(34) Philip. 4,2

(37) Rom. 16,6

(40) 1 Cor. 7,8.

(35) Rom.16,3

(38) Rom. 16,12.

(36) Rom.16,1

(39) Rom.16,15.

man and woman was the service of Christ, and for that purpose the unmarried were freer. In his later years as he saw the hope of the return of Christ growing less, he adopts a more positive attitude to marriage, and actually blesses it as typical of the union between Christ and the Church (41). But on the whole, his view is that marriage is good for some, and celibacy good for others. He is very far from favouring the ascetic tendencies which were beginning to appear in his day and before it, as at Qumran. He has no idea of marriage as a morally inferior state, and he denounces as a suggestion of the devil, the teaching that prevailed among the Essenes and early Gnostic sects, that marriage and the procreation of children were unworthy of those who desired to pursue a holy life (42).

(g) The Family

Paul was against the current Greek view that children possess an economic value for parents. His idea is that parents should consider the welfare of their children and recognises that the home is the chief centre of moral and religious training.

(h) The State

The state, for Paul, was the result of a basic necessity for a lawful government to govern, to protect all law-abiding citizens and to restrain those who would otherwise prey upon their fellows. For Paul this state had a high and sacred significance, and government was viewed by him as a divine institution, and that what might be otherwise called "civic duty" was in his eyes a thing not merely of legal but of moral obligation. Loyalty to the state was a duty to all Christians - Rom. 13. Paul made no direct attack on any of the evils of his day. Direct protest would have meant popular insurrection, easily crushed and ineffective. Rather, Paul trusted in the transforming power of the love of Christ.

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(41) Eph. 5, 32

(42) 1 Tim. 4, 1-3

Conclusion

There seems to be very little deep resemblance between the ethics of Paul and those of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Paul's ethics are based on religious freedom from the Law, while the Qumran sect exalted the self-same Law in every respect. Their ethics were very much "case-law", where every crime had its regular procedure to be followed and a regulated penalty carried out. There is one brief point of contact between the two in that the Scrolls recognised the need for an awareness of sin to be created in the human heart, which according to Paul was the chief function of the Law. Paul's ethics are by no means ascetic in their outlook, while those of the Scrolls tended towards this very thing, e.g. the strict regulation of work and worship, or ritual cleansings and meetings, the celibacy and the community of goods. Paul's ethics are meant to be incorporated into the normal everyday life of mankind, based on love. At best there was only compassion in Qumran, for the sick and the aged, but very little of a deep, loving nature in their code. Quite the opposite in fact of their hatred of the Sons of Darkness. At the root of this problem stands the basic difference that for Paul ethics were the natural consequence of theology, while in Qumran there was not the same co-extensiveness between Religion and Ethics. Paul was no great innovator in the ethical field. Much of his teaching is based on traditional rabbinic ethical teaching, legalistic and rigid, which he modified and gave a fuller, freer expression in terms of Christian love. Here there is only the very briefest of contacts with the thought of the Scrolls. Paul's ethics were more positive, drawing out the implications of Christian love, and remoulding the doctrine concerning the Law. While there are many superficial resemblances between the Scrolls and Paul in the field of ethics, as, for example, the lists of virtues and vices (on which see separate paper), basically it is this negative attitude adopted by Paul to the importance of the Law, coupled with his positive zeal for Love, which causes the gulf between the two to widen. However there is the chance that it

was because Paul was familiar with the Qumran doctrines, as part of the contemporary Judaistic thought, that he reacted against them, and if this is the case, then there may have been closer contact than expected. But it is fairer to say that this means that he was familiar with their doctrines, only as much as any other person was, and need not imply any special closer contact. The likelihood is that there is little or no debt owed by Paul to the people of the Scrolls in the field of ethics, except what he knew of them through common knowledge, and not by special study.

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APPENDIX TO CHAPTER FIVE

A NOTE ON ETHICAL LISTS IN THE MANUAL OF DISCIPLINE
AND THE PAULINE CORPUS

In the Fourth Plate, or Section, of the Manual of Discipline, or the Community Rule, there occurs several lists of vices and virtues associated with the Spirits of Falsehood and Truth respectively. It would seem that this ethical section is a natural consequence of the foregoing Section Three, wherein is set out in detail the Doctrine of the Two Spirits, themselves closely interlinked with the dualistic Light-Darkness theme. From line three of Section Four onwards to line eleven of the same section, the ethical implications and requirements are listed in a very elaborate series, very reminiscent of similar catalogues of virtues and vices found in various parts of the Old Testament.

With special regard to this particular section of IQS, (as the manual is abbreviated), A.R.C. Leaney states that, as Professor Millar Burrows has suggested, this section beginning at line 2 lacks a proper introduction, and puts forward the heading or introductory phrase, "It is the way of the Spirit of Truth" as an appropriate counterbalance to the phrase in the following line 9, "But to the Spirit of Perversity....."(1). To this suggestion Dr. P. Wernberg-Moller, gives his whole-hearted support, saying:-

".....accordingly, it is clear that something is missing in the headline in IV,2; the phraseology of 1.9 suggests that we should supply $\int \propto \pi \gamma$ (a spirit of truth)".(2)

The various edited translations of IQS give very differing translations of IQS section, therefore it has been thought advisable to give a "personal" translation, which is as much a literal translation as anything. Great care was taken to translate the Hebrew as accurately as possible, but it was found that, as yet, Hebrew lexicons and dictionaries have not incorporated any meanings peculiar to the writings of the Qumran sect; therefore the meanings were all from the classical Hebrew period, and took no account of local idiosyncrasies. However, the translation is as follows:-

"line 3/

- 1) "The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning", p.150ff.
- 2) "The Manual of Discipline", p.73

"line 3and a spirit of humility, slow to anger, and a spirit of compassion and continual goodness; discernment and strong wisdom established in all
line 4 the works of God, leaning on His great mercy; and a spirit of knowledge in all skilled work which a man does, zeal for the laws of righteousness, and
line 5 a holy plan with an upright purpose, and great loving-kindness upon all the sons of truth and pure honour, who abhor all unclean idols, and behave humbly, walking
line 6 by all prudence, and concealing the truth of the secret of knowledge; these are the foundations of the Sons of Truth (in) the world; and the visitation of all who walk in it is healing,
line 7 and great peace in a long life, and bearing children with every eternal blessing and everlasting joy in eternal life, and a crown of glory
line 8 with a (glorious) garment in perpetual light.
line 9 But the (ways of) the Spirit of Iniquity are boundless desire, and half heartedness in the search of righteousness; wickedness, pride and haughtiness of heart, lying and fierce deceit,
line 10 great hypocrisy, impatient anger, great impiety and envious pride, works of abomination (done) in a spirit of whoredom, and uncleanness in a defiled worship.
line 11 and a blasphemous tongue, blind eyes, dullness of ear, stiffness of neck, hardness of heart, walking in all the ways of darkness and guile".

The section begins with the requirements for self control and self discipline - humility, compassion, goodness, wisdom etc. - which could be said were the requirements for the novice entering the sect, as reflected by the accounts of the character of the Essenes given by ancient writers and historians. It would appear that this is the first stage of a spiritual and ethical progression, reflected by the different groups of requirements laid down in subsequent verses. These "personal requirements" lead on,
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in line 4, to the beginnings of spiritual virtues, where the end is seen as a thirst for communion with God and His righteous works. Note that this leads in turn to the warnings against idolatry and impurity of worship. In this particular connection, line 6 contains an interesting reference to "the truth of the secret (of knowledge", which probably is to be understood as an allusion to the practice in the sect of expounding the Law to search it for its secrets, which, it was thought, the specially gifted could discover. IQS V,3, suggests that the final decision on any interpretation was taken by the full assembly, although there is a certain ambiguity in the words:-

"Every decision concerning doctrine, property, and justice shall be determined by them".

The "them" could refer to the Sons of Zadok; or the Priests or the "multitude of the men of the Community", who must be the "Council of the Many". Most likely it is to the last group the "them" is making reference.

1 QS IX,17ff. shows how such a revelation of this knowledge was thought of as demanding a mind fit to receive it:-

"He shall conceal the teaching of the Law from men of falsehood, but shall impart true knowledge and righteous judgement to those who have chosen the way. He shall guide them in all knowledge according to the rule of the age, and shall thus instruct them in the mysteries of marvellous truth that in the midst of the men of the Community they may walk perfectly together in all that has been revealed to them....."

Those who have not chosen the "Way", i.e. who were not members of the sect, were not permitted to have this esoteric knowledge revealed to them. A.R.C. Leaney gives the following as a reason:-

"The reason is probably to be found in the sentiment that the practice of a regulation by those who did not belong to 'the truth' (that is, those who practise the truth or Law of God in their everyday lives perfectly, in other words, the sect) would be a defilement of that regulation, something like the association/

association of one ritually unclean with a 'chaburah' whose members were meticulous in their observances. His temporary faithlessness to their precepts would not make the presence of the uninitiated any less abhorrent". (3)

The preceding regulations of lines 3-6 have been the 'entrance requirements' for full membership of the sect, or as IQS puts it, "the foundations of the Sons of Truth (in) the world".

The results or rewards of all who practise this way of life are listed in lines 648. Most of these virtues are self explanatory and need no comment other than that their background is predominantly that of the Old Testament. Nevertheless a word might profitably be said about 'healing' (line 6). Leaney states that this is often translated as 'health' in the O.T., as at Proverbs 4,22; 12,18, and is more like 'peace' in its sense of prosperity and welfare, and not merely the absence of war. Likely the Hebrew *šālām* would best express this concept. Also there seem to be an eschatological note running through this particular catalogue, since many of them are laid down in Isaiah 49,20 and 53,10 as belonging to the righteous in the New Age. Leaney points out how this note is accentuated in the pseudepigraphical literature, e.g. 1 Enoch 5,7-9; 10,16f; 25,6; 28,1; 55,59; Jubilees 1,29; at the onset of the new age, the luminaries will be renewed for healing, peace and blessing. The visitation is therefore to be understood as the reward which God will bestow at the end of this age to be enjoyed in the new order (5). One other phrase which will require some explanation is that in line 8, "a garment in perpetual light". This goes back to the fundamental dichotomy between Light and Dark, God and the Devil, which underlies the structure of this entire section. Just as Dark is associated with the enemies of God, so Light is associated with the friends of God. It follows therefore, that those who obey the precepts of God will have His Light reflected upon them. Ideas/

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(3) Op.cit., p.151

(5) Op.cit., p.152.

(4) Op.cit., p.152

Ideas such as these are found, or at least hinted at, in Daniel 12,3; Widsom 3,7; and 2 Corinthians 3,18. Light is also given as a reward in 1 Enoch 58,6. But the fullest expression of this doctrine is found in Revelation 22,3-5, where the reward of God to those who worship Him is quite openly stated to be light.

In this section there is reflected something of the Doctrine of the Two Ages, where, although there was an eschatological expectation of a New Age to Come, it was not to be a clean cut ending of the Old Age and the beginning of the New Age, but a gradual transformation process, whereby this world remained this world, but was changed by the breaking in of the life of the New Age. This would explain why the rewards laid down here have a this-worldly aspect, e.g. long life, child-bearing etc. It was the firm belief of the sect that they lived the life of the New Age in this one.

In contrast to these "virtues", there begins at line 9 a corresponding list of vices, or "ways of the Spirit of Iniquity". In line 9 it is evident that the source of human viciousness and degradation is this "boundless desire", and more especially the "half-heartedness in the search for righteousness". As a result of this lack of intensity in spiritual matters, men suppress the truth and choose to serve Evil rather than Good, Dark rather than Light, Many of these vices are duplicated in the list, e.g. pride or haughtiness, and most of them have a distinctive O.T. background. There is nothing particularly outstanding about any of them which would require a more detailed examination. They are simply an indication of what happens to any man who chooses to reject/

reject the Way of Truth and Light, and follow the Way of Falsehood and Dark instead.

Even on a casual reading of the Pauline Corpus, (the accredited, genuine Pauline letters plus the Pastoral Epistles), it becomes abundantly clear that the writer or editor, as the case may be, frequently inserts lists of virtues and vices in very much the same kind of ethical context as found in IQS. This is especially noticeable with the second kind of list, that of the fruits of the Spirit of Iniquity, or Falsehood, which Paul usually terms "works of the flesh", (σὰρξ), in contrast with the "works of the Spirit", (πνεῦμα). Lists concerned with the former are to be found at the following places:- Gal.5,19f; Rom. 1,29f; 1 Cor. 5,9-12; 1 Cor.6,9f; Col. 3,5 and 8; Eph.5,3; note also 1 Tim. 1,9-10; 3,3-4; 2 Tim.3,2-4; Titus 1,7-9.

These lists are in some ways very closely similar, and it would seem that if Galatians was among the earliest letters to be written, then this one contains the "basic list" which was repeated with additions and omissions in later letters. Thus close attention will be paid to the Galatian letter only at this stage, and it will be assumed that the others follow its general outline, unless otherwise stated. Again a re-examination and translation of the passage in question was thought advisable, the translation being the following:-

"Galatians 5

- v.19. But the works of the flesh are evident; such things as uncleanness, impurity, intemperance, idolatry, sorcery.
- v.20. discord, quarrelling, jealousy, anger, factiousness, dissension, party spirits, envy, debauchery, revelry, and the like,
- v.21. of which I warned you before, even as I did forewarn you, that those who do these things will not inherit the Kingdom of God.

v.22/

v.22. But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace,
patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, forbearance,
self-control.

v.23. Against such things as these, there is no law".

In connection with the works of the flesh in v.19f,
attention should be paid to the classification made by W. Ramsay,
as quoted in A.F. Blunt's commentary on Galatians. He says:-

"In the present list of vices it may be needless to look
for any special principles of classification. But if
one be desired nothing better than Ramsay's could be found.
He classifies them as -

- (1) Sins connected with the practice of the heathen religions -
fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness (with special
references to such practices as religious prostitution),
idolatry, and sorcery (φάρμακα = magic).
- (2) Sins connected with municipal life of the towns, with
their internal factions and their endless rivalries
between city and city - enmities, strife, jealousies,
wraths, factions, divisions, heresies (i.e. parties),
envyings etc.
- (3) Social faults - drunkenness and revellings". (6)

From the Table B at the end of this paper, it will be
evident that every other list in the New Testament contains these
basic elements. Elements such as greed, wickedness, fornication,
envy, drunkenness, malice and idolatry are the ones which appear
with unfailing regularity in them all. When this list is compared
with lQS IV, lines 9-11, it will be at once apparent that they
contain elements which are exactly like that of Galatians. The
same three classes of vice are present, and in many cases the
same vice, word for word, e.g. greed, wickedness, anger, deceit,
idolatry. Certainly on closer examination it can be seen that
there are more points of dissimilarity between the two works than
similarity, but it yet remains that the basic outline of lQS
IV, 9-11, is remarkably similar to those in the Pauline corpus.

In very much the same way, the works of the Spirit in Paul can be treated. Paul deals with this topic in the following passages:- Gal. 5,22-3; Col.3,12-17; Eph.4,1-6; and note also Titus 2,2-3. Again, Galatians has been taken as representative of the others. A.F. Blunt again provides a classification of these qualities, this time quoting J.B. Lightfoot as follows:-

- "The list of the qualities which are the fruit of the Spirit is similarly unsystematic. Lightfoot arranges them as -
- (1) general habits of the Christian mind - love, joy, peace.
 - (2) special qualities affecting a man's intercourse with his neighbour - longsuffering, kindness, goodness (ἀγαθωσύνη, beneficence).
 - (3) general principles which guide a Christian's conduct - faithfulness, meekness, temperance (ἐγκράτεια = self-control) ". (7)

While it is impossible to attribute to IQS IV, 3-8, any Christian connotation, it is yet apparent that again the three classes of virtue laid down above can be paralleled in that section of IQS. Virtues like peace, love, humility, self-control, kindness find their exact parallels, word for word. Again, there are many elements which have no parallel, but there is a basic similarity of outline which can hardly be denied.

Summing up the evidence it can be said:-

- (a) That both Paul and IQS contain lists of virtues and vices.
- (b) Their basic outline is similar.
- (c) There are many exact, word for word parallels.
- (d) There are many non-parallels.

It is unjustifiable to stretch the evidence to say that Paul is copying from IQS. Perhaps it was mere chance that Paul's lists are so closely alike to those of IQS. Or perhaps both were drawing on a common heritage in Judaism, although apart from the Old Testament, these lists seem to have their origin elsewhere, in Plato, Philo, and the Stoic writers. Paul may have taken these lists/

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(7) Op.cit., p.126

lists from such writers and adapted them for his own purposes. In his use of them it would seem that he is using a stereotyped form, as it is unlikely that dictated lists, so separated in time, would be so similar in content. Or perhaps both Paul and Qumran are drawing on the Jewish doctrine of the Evil Influence, or even further back from Persian dualism. In any case it is clear that Paul is using a mode of ethical teaching which had been used before him in Qumran, and this point of contact cannot be overlooked, no matter what conclusions are, or are not, drawn.

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TABLE A

ays of the Spirit of Truth" (1QS), equal to "Fruits of Spirit"(Gal.5)

<u>1QS.</u>	<u>Gal.5.</u>	<u>Col.3.</u>	<u>Eph.4.</u>
umility	forbearance	humility	humility
low to anger	self-control	patience	patience
ompassion	kindness	compassion	gentle
oodness	goodness	-	-
iscernment	-	-	-
isdom	-	wisdom	-
nowledge	-	-	-
deal for ighteousness }	-	-	-
ovingkindness	love	-	-
ealing	love	love	charitable
peace	peace	peace	peace
hildbearing	-	-	-
oy	joy	"sing thankfully" (v.16)	-
ternal life	-	-	-
lory	-	-	-

TABLE B

Works of the Flesh (Gal.), or Ways of the Spirit of Iniquity (1QS)"

<u>1QS</u>	<u>Gal.5.</u>	<u>Rom.1</u>	<u>1Cor.5</u>	<u>1 Cor.6</u>	<u>Col.3</u>	<u>Eph.5.</u>
greed	-	rapacity	grabbers	-	greed	greed
impurity	impurity	-	-	-	indecenty	indecenty
filthiness	uncleanness	-	-	fornication	fornication	fornication
envy	-	-	-	-	-	-
lying	-	-	slanders	-	-	-
deceit	-	-	swindlers	-	-	-
hypocrisy	-	-	-	-	-	-
anger	Anger	-	-	-	anger	-
envy	envy	envy	-	-	foul cravings	-
Work of						
domination	debauchery	-	-	drunkards	-	-
blasphemy	-	-	-	-	cursing	coarse talk
kindness	-	-	-	-	-	-
safeness	-	-	-	-	-	-
stiffnecked	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hard Hearted	-	-	-	-	-	-
file	-	malice	-	-	malice	-
idolatry	idolatry	-	idolatry	idolatry	idolatry	idolatry

CHAPTER SIX

"Paul, Damascus and the Essenes".

Paul, Damascus and the Essenes.

There is a distinct possibility that there exists a very close bond between the thought of St. Paul and that of the Jewish sect at the monastery of Qumran, a sect generally equated with the Essenes described by the historians Flavius Josephus, Pliny the Elder and Philo of Alexandria. One very interesting feature about the two parties, Paul and the Essenes, is that both held the city of Damascus in high esteem. It was while journeying to this ancient city that there occurred that momentous revelation which resulted in the complete conversion of Paul to Christianity. For the Essenes it seems to have been of special importance as a city of refuge, in time of persecution. What evidence is there to justify the supposed link between the two parties?

In the Acts of the Apostles there are numerous references to Damascus, all chiefly concerned with the two accounts of Paul's conversion. In Acts 9, verses 2,3,8,10,19,22,27, comprising the account given by the author or editor of Acts, probably Luke. Also Acts 22, verses 5,6,10,11, where Paul is giving his own personal account of his conversion to the Jerusalem crowds. In addition, there are the references in Acts 26, verses 12 and 20, where Paul is making his plea to Agrippa. These references to Damascus are not all "mysterious", since they are necessary parts of Paul's narrative, and have no other significance. However, there are other two New Testament references which are of more interest and meaning.

The first one is:-

"At/

"At Damascus, the governor under King Aretas guarded the city of Damascus in order to seize me, but I was let down in a basket through a window on the wall, and escaped his hands". (1)

Aretas at that time was the King of the Nabateans. Looking closely at the content and position of these verses, they seem out of context with the preceding narrative. They seem more like a fragment of another narrative which has been lost or misplaced. However, since the contents of these verses closely parallel the contents of Acts 9, vv.23-25, it may be worthwhile to postulate that here is an example of a "literary doublet", concerning the same incident.

Whatever Paul had done in Damascus must have been very unpopular with the civil authorities. In Acts 9 the Jews of the city are more than anxious to see the last of Paul, while the governor of King Aretas seems to have had an equally pressing reason for wishing to apprehend him. Perhaps the governor feared a civil disturbance from the Jews split by Paul. The Jews were more than a little restless during Paul's stay. Whatever the reasons, or combination of reasons, it is certainly true that Paul was forced, at one point in his life, to leave the city of Damascus in haste and with great stealth.

The second reference, outside Acts, is:-

".....Nor did I go up to Jerusalem to those who were apostles before me, but I went away into Arabia; and again I returned to Damascus.

Then, after three years I went up to Jerusalem to visit Cephas, and remained with him fifteen days....." (2)

The implication of these verses, and the ones which immediately precede it, seems to be, that some time after his conversion, Paul had a period in his life which has been unrecorded,

so/
{1} Revised Standard Version - 2 Corinthians 11,vv.32-33.
{2} Galatians 1,17-18.

so far as is known. He says in this Galatians[†] passage that he went to Arabia, and then returned to Damascus. There are two points to be noted here:-

1. Does "returned" imply that he started out from Damascus to go into exile?
2. Where exactly does he mean by the term, "Arabia"?

: With regard to the first question, could it not be held that the implication of the words "returned to Damascus" is that this had been the starting point for his Arabian wanderings? If this is so, and it seems probable that it was so, then this must be the sequel to Acts, 9, 23-25, and 2 Corinthians 11, 32-33. Perhaps Paul was "lying low" to allow the "hue-and-cry" against him to die down. Also it may have been a chance for him to review the sudden change of direction in his life occasioned by his conversion experience. It is only natural that a man of Paul's high intellectual calibre would wish to meditate and think out the total significance of this volte[†]face, in theological terms.

From being the arch-persecutor of the Christians, Paul now found himself one of its champions. He must have needed time to settle his mind, and learn some more about his new faith.

J.N. Sanders, writing the commentary on Galatians in "Peake's Commentary on the Bible" states:-

" 'Arabia' is probably the kingdom of Aretas. Acts does not mention this episode, but represents Paul as going to Jerusalem from Damascus (9,23ff). Paul does not say why he went to Arabia. Various suggestions are made - to meditate in the desert, to visit Sinai, to preach. Possibly a long period 'in retreat' was followed by some preaching whereby Paul attracted the hostile attention of Aretas (2 Cor. 11,32). Damascus may have been under Aretas's jurisdiction at this period. If so, this may help to explain the silence of Acts on Paul's Arabian visit". (3)

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(3) "Peake's Commentary", p.974

It is not without the bounds of possibility that he was attaching himself to various kinds of sects in the desert places, seeking information and enlightenment. Many scholars seem to think that it is undignified to suggest that the apostle sought wisdom from any non-Christian sect, such as the Essenes. They scoff at the suggestion that Paul might have spent some time at Qumran. Why should they? After all, Paul was a human being, and so subject to human bewilderment and confusion like every other man. Does it really lessen the worth of his thoughts and writings if some of his material stems from a non-Christian sectarian source? Surely what matters is not so much what he may have gained from such people, but how he used it in the furtherance of the Christian Gospel.

J. Knox highlights the confusion which exists about this problem. He writes:-

"Paul tells us that immediately after this transforming experience he went to Arabia, the country just to east and south of Syria. The border was close to Damascus; indeed it has sometimes been held that in or about this period Damascus belonged to Arabia rather than Syria. We do not know where Paul went in Arabia nor why. The only reasons it is usually supposed that he went for solitude and meditation are, first that he says 'he did not confer with flesh and blood', and, second, that the word 'Arabia' means to us deserts and the solitary life. The second of these reasons has no force at all, and the first hardly more. There were cities in Arabia, and there is no reason to suppose that Paul did not visit one of them. But we do not know where or why he went. Nor do we know how long he stayed in Arabia. We are told only that he returned to Damascus and three years later went to Jerusalem for the first time after his conversion. It is impossible to tell whether the 'three years' are computed from the time of the conversion or from the time of his return to Damascus". (4)

Knox/

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Knox cannot seem to make up his mind on the events of Paul's life at this point, and far from destroying the possibility that Paul was in the desert meditating, he actually leaves the whole question wide open. Others take the opposite view from Knox. W.F. Albright writes:-

"Thus Pauline terminology and thought are thoroughly Jewish, though probably not specifically Essene, since it likely that the Pharisees had at this time similar ideas and phraseology (which soon disappeared in Rabbinic times). In any case, Paul was probably in close association with the Essenes during those years of his life which he spent in Arabia, that is the Jordan Valley. Transjordan and the general area between the Arabian Desert and Palestine-Syria, the home of the Essenes". (5)

This view is shared by J.E. Wood writing on the subject of "Pauline Studies and the Dead Sea Scrolls", thus:-

"How then are we to interpret this close relationship of thought and terminology between Paul and Qumran? It is possible, I suppose, that Paul was personally acquainted with this body of literature which has now come into our hands so many centuries later and under such strange circumstances. As a young Rabbinic student in Jerusalem, he must surely have known something about other sects besides the Nazarenes (see Act-24.5,14). And it could be argued no doubt, that the converted Paul spent some of his three years in Arabia within striking distance of Qumran - especially as there were close connexions between the sectaries and Damascus, from which Paul had lately come". (6)

The majority of scholarly opinion, with which the present writer must associate himself, is that during Paul's "Arabian period", he was meditating, and learning about the nature of the Christian faith, and its relation to the orthodox, Pharisaic Judaism, hitherto his guiding light for his personal beliefs.

But/

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(5) 'New Horizons in Biblical Research', p.48

(6) "The Expository Times" July, 1967, p.310

But it may be worthwhile to find out in a little more detail exactly where Paul was in "Arabia". Such a term now is used in a very different sense from its sense in Paul's day. On this point, Sir George Adam Smith writes thus:-

"The Arabia into which he (Paul) went after his conversion was not Hauran, as some imagine, but either the lonely Harras to the East of the Leja, or Nabatea proper - Bozrah, Salkhat, Petra, and further south, perhaps, to Sinai....."(7)

Most maps in modern times are very careful to distinguish between Arabia proper and Nabatea, although, geographically, their features are of the same type. As they lie side by side, it must be a doubtful proposition to clearly distinguish between the two of them. The suggestion has been put forward by Robert North, in "Palestine Exploration Quarterly", April, 1955, pages 34 to 38, that Damascus was under Nabatean control, and that in fact the expression "Land of Damascus", which occurs in that one of the Dead Sea Scrolls known as either "The Damascus Document", or "The Zadokite Fragment", really refers to the Damascus section of Nabatea, which is supposed to have extended as far south as the shores of the Dead Sea. To quote Sir. George Adam Smith again:-

"Agrippa's territory extended as far east as the farther slopes of the Jebel Hauran, where an inscription of his has been found. But the Nabateans, under King Aretas, still held Bozrah and Salkhat, and for the time Damascus had been yielded to them by the Romans. Paul tells us that when he came back to Damascus from Arabia, three years after his conversion, an ethnarch under Aretas the king held the city of the Damascenes". (8)

Therefore the possibility, at least, exists that the territory of the Nabateans extended much further north than had previously been thought.

R. North has this to say:-

"Nabatean rule, of which Damascus was metropolis, encompassed three-quarters of the Dead Sea. Only the area north of 'En Gedi to the Jordan mouth, the utter desert, south of the/
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(7) 'Fontana' edition of his "The Historical Geography of the Holy Land", p.413.

(8) Op.cit., p.413

of the Jerusalem-Jericho-Amman road remains questionable". (9)

This is the area which includes the ruins of Qumran. It is worthwhile noting, that six Nabatean papyri, one of which is dated to about 50 A.D., have been found near Qumran. Thus even this desolate region may have been under some kind of Nabatean rule, even for a shorter time than the rest of the Damascus region.

Matthew Black, writing of the location of certain Jewish sects, has an interesting phrase. He states:-

"Certainly in the first three centuries of the Christian era the entire area of Judean and in particular Trans-Jordan and the Dead Sea (Arabia, in the wider Pauline sense), was the haunt and habitat of numerous 'sects', Christians as well as Jewish; it was in Trans-Jordan Josephus consorted with the baptizer Banus; it was here the Elkasites and the Sampsons, the Ebionites and the Nazarenes were located".(10)

From what Black says, it is clear that by "Arabia" Paul could well have meant the general area around Qumran. It is also clear from this quotation that the Qumran people were not the sole inhabitants of the area. If Paul visited Qumran, he may equally have visited the locations of the other sects listed by Black.

From the foregoing evidence it is possible to say that the lost three years of Paul's career were years of learning and meditation. In the desert of Arabia, extending to Trans-Jordan and the Dead Sea, he would inevitably meet with many of the lesser sects. That being so it is the natural conclusion to assume that he must have included the Essenes of Qumran on his "list". A direct link is thus claimed.

The foregoing material has set out the thesis that there was a period in Paul's life, the exact contents of which have gone unrecorded in the New Testament. One thing, however, can

(9) "Palestine Exploration Quarterly", April, 1955.

(10) "The Scrolls and Christian Origins", p.6

can be said, During this period the city of Damascus was a very important and decisive influence on the direction of Paul's career, at a time when it is possible that he had visited Qumran. One of the interesting possibilities of this time is that in Damascus itself, Paul may have come into contact with the Essenes, either as a body, or as individuals. From the evidence given by the Jewish historian, Flavious Josephus, it seems that the Essenes had a representative in many towns and cities, whose duty it was to provide hospitality for travelling members of the sect. Josephus writes:-

"They do not have one city, but many settle in each city."

Sectarians arriving from elsewhere have all the resources of the community placed at their disposal, just as if they were their own; and they enter the houses of those they have never seen before as if they were their closest friends. Consequently, when they make their journeys they do not carry anything at all with them, but they are armed on account of robbers. An officer to look after the strangers is chosen and appointed in each city where the Order is found, furnishing them with clothing and necessities".(11

Philo of Alexandria also gives some evidence on this point, although it is a little inconsistent and confused. He writes:-

"First of all, they live in villages, avoiding cities because of the lawlessness which has become inveterate among city dwellers, knowing that from association with such there comes a deadly influence on their souls, like that of a disease arising from a pestilential atmosphere". (12)

Does this imply that they live in self-contained villages, or that they live only in villages as contrasted with bigger towns and cities?

Further on, in the same section, he writes, in paragraph 85:-
First/

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(11) "Jewish War", II.viii.4. (12) "Quod omnis probus liber", XII, 76

First of all, there is no house belonging to anyone which is not in effect shared by all. For in addition to their living together in fraternities their door is open also to those of their fellow enthusiasts arriving from elsewhere". (12)

In another of his works, Philo writes:-

"Great numbers of his own people has our Law-giver trained for (the life of) fellowship. They are called Essenes, having been deemed worthy of the appellation - I think-~~On~~ account of their holiness. They dwell in many towns in Judea, in many villages, and in large populous communities." (13)

Looking at this statement of Philo's, in contrast with that from "Quod omnis probus liber", it would seem that there is a distinction drawn between those of the Essenes who live in close communities, and those who live in villages as against cities.

Taking both Josephus and Philo into consideration, there seems little doubt that the Essene movement had a considerable distribution throughout the country. That being so, and keeping in mind Josephus's statement about the representative in all big towns and cities, is it not reasonable to assume that there was at least one such officer in Damascus in the Christian era? Damascus held a big place in the affections of the Essenes. It may well be the case that for a time, the whole Essene movement was directed from there, rather than from Qumran. Some clues to this are to be found in the "Damascus Document," or "Zadokite Fragment", one of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and usually referred to as "ZD".

The passages to look at are as follows:-

1. "The Well is the Law, and those who dug it were the converts of Israel who went out of the land of Judah to sojourn in the land of Damascus". (14)

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(12) "Quod omnis probus liber", XII.76

(13) "Hypothetica", Book 11,1.

(14) VI par. 2.

2. "They shall keep the Sabbath day according to its exact interpretation, and the feasts and the Day of Fasting according to the findings of themembers of the New Covenant in the land of Damascus". (15)
3. "The star is in the Interpreter of the Law who shall come to Damascus". (16)
4. "None of themen who enter the New Covenant in the land of Damascus....." (17)
5. "For they have spoken wrongly against the precepts of righteousness, and have despised the Covenant and the Pact - the New Covenant - which they made in the land of Damascus." (18)

What do these quotations refer to? It will be instructive to comment on them, in order.

Reference 1 clearly implies migration from Judah to the "Land of Damascus". Does this fit in with any known period in Jewish history? Just such a known series of events, which may be the ones referred to in this case, took place in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (175-163 B.C.). This was a period in Jewish history when there was an increasing amount of Hellenization, with subsequent debasement of the traditional Jewish faith. Events culminated in an edict of Antiochus in 167 B.C., forbidding the observance of the Jewish religion. According to the events narrated in the first two chapters of 1 Maccabees, certain conservative Jewish elements banded together under the leadership of a certain Mattathias, or Matthias, to resist the pagan advances. There are the following words:-

"Then were gathered together unto them a company of Hasidaeans, mighty men of Israel, every one that offered himself willingly for the Law. And all they that fled from the evils were added to them, and because a stay unto them. And they mustered a host, and smote sinners in their anger, and lawless men in their wrath; and the rest fled to the Gentiles for safety". (19)

From/

- (15) VI, par.3 (16) VII, par.3 (17) VIII, par.4. (18) VIII, par.6
(19) 1 Maccabees 11,39; See also F.A. Schilling's article:-/

From certain words occurring just before the above quotation it seems that Mattathias had withdrawn to the desert to live with his followers:-

"Then many that sought after justice and judgement went down into the wilderness, to dwell there, they and their sons, and their wives, and their cattle; because evils were multiplied against them".

Perhaps an echo of these events is reflected in this reference in ZD.

Reference 2 is even more interesting, since the implication is that there was a separate band of the sect in Damascus, almost as if they were regarded as the ruling members directing the others from a central headquarters in "land of Damascus". Thus it may be that there was always such a central group in and around Damascus, a group surely known to Paul, who was so conversant with the leading movements of the Judaism of his own day.

Reference 3 evidently is to a particular member of the sect whose residence is specifically stated to be "Damascus", and not the more nebulous "land of Damascus". Could this figure be equated with the enigmatic Teacher of Righteousness, about whom so little is definite? No-one can say so with any certainty, but there may be a possibility that, if a late date is given for the text, it refers to Simon Bar-Cochba - "Son of a Star" - the leader of the Second Jewish Revolt of 132 A.D. However, it is more likely to be a reference to the Teacher, disguised under a semi-Messianic title such as this.

Reference 4 and 5 both include mention of the "New Covenant", which is in the "land of Damascus". This might be a veiled reference to the Qumran Covenanters, living in Qumran, itself a part of the Nabatean "land of Damascus". If so, then it is easy/
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: article:- "Why did Paul go to Damascus?" pp.199-205 of
"Anglican Theological Review", No.16.1934, especially
p.203.

easy to see that Paul, himself imbued with ideas about a New Covenant, would find himself in reasonable harmony with their theology.

From this evidence three things can be said:-

- (a) That some founder members of the Qumran sect, viz., the Hasidaeans, moved north towards Damascus during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes.
- (b) That the term 'land of Damascus' may be symbolic for Qumran.
- (c) That the Community settled at Qumran, but the area was under the jurisdiction of the Nabateans, who also ruled the city of Damascus, thus making Qumran part of the 'land of Damascus'.

There may be more concrete evidence for a migration from Qumran.

It was sometime during the second half of the 2nd century B.C. that the first building took place at Qumran by the Covenanters. There was nothing there save the remains of a town belonging to the kings of ancient Judah - perhaps the 'city of salt' mentioned in Joshua 15,26. There are two definite periods of occupation, beginning with a small settlement from this early period, the period of John Hyrcanus. Over a dozen bronze coins of that period, 134-104 B.C., have been discovered on the site. Then the establishment flourished in the reign of Alexander Janneus, 103-76 B.C., as some 86 coins of the period testify. Some time after that, an earthquake in the region brought down the buildings and disrupted the life of the community. Josephus reports just such a catastrophe in this area in 31 B.C., in his account of Herod's war against the Arabs:-

"But while he was avenging himself on his enemies, another fateful disaster struck him - in the seventh year of his reign, when the war of Actium was at its height. In the early spring an earthquake destroyed countless cattle and thirty thousand people; however the soldiers lying in the open/

open fields were uninjured". (20)

The monastery at Qumran did not escape injury, as witness the cracks in many of the great water cisterns. After this period, the monastery lay almost deserted, as is shown by the small number of coins of the period of Herod the Great (37-4 B.C.), some five in all. This marks the close of Period One.

Period Two begins in the final years of the pre-Christian era, during the short reign of Archelaus, 4 B.C., - 6 A.D. The buildings were restored and occupied until the third year of the Jewish War, beginning in 66 A.D., when the settlement was destroyed by fire, the probable result of a Roman attack. A considerable quantity of Roman arrowheads was found in the ruins from this period, and there were also traces of fire.

Therefore, there is a large gap in the settlement of Qumran, roughly from 31-4 B.C., at least from the archaeological evidence. It may be the case that in these intervening years the Covenanters, or Essenes, removed themselves to the city of Damascus. Certainly this is the view taken by C.T. Fritsh. He holds that the migration was a reality, and took place not so much as a result of physical catastrophe, as the result of active hostility on the part of Herod the Great (21). Herod may have had scant sympathy with the moral principles and Messianic hopes of the Essenes groups a few miles from his palace at Jericho. Their strict discipline and high standard of conduct must have been a constant restraint to his ungovernable passion and sensuality.

Again/

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(20) "War of the Jews" I,19

(21) "The Qumran Community", p.21ff.

Again, Herod was no Jew. His love for the Greek culture and his disdain of the Torah made him hated by the Pharisees. He never openly broke with them., and in fact he made some concessions to them. But still they hated him.

Remember also that Herod probably disliked the military nature of the sect. The members looked on themselves as the army of the Lord, and had banners and military organization, as illustrated in "The War Scroll". If he regarded them as a warlike Jewish sect with fanatical Messianic hopes that held some serious political implications, he was not the man to tolerate their existence for long, especially in the shadow of his own palace.

Finally, the sect's Messianic teachings may have caused friction. Herod's court was one of intrigue, jealousy and murder, where not even Herod's family escaped murder if they showed themselves to be contenders for the throne. Herod would hardly be content to live in the constant fear of a sect, which held that the Messiah of Aaron and Israel, the rightful King, was to come through them. They believed that their covenant community was to be the means whereby the ideals of the Messianic Age were to be realised. If he acted as he did in the events of Matthew 2, 1-8, 16-18, the "~~Slaughter~~ of the Innocents", he would think nothing of banishing this sect with its apocalyptic views.

Fritsch's contention is that ZD reflects this expulsion, and that the name "Damascus" is not a symbolic one, but the real name of the place of refuge to which the Qumran Covenanters fled. While it may not be possible to agree with every detail of this contention, it must not at the same time be dismissed too lightly. The archaeological evidence from Qumran would help to give substance to the theory, since it can be seen from the coin evidence alone that Qumran was virtually uninhabited during the greater part of Herod's reign. Therefore, if the inhabitants suddenly removed themselves from their accustomed site, they must necessarily have been living in some other place. Since/

Since Damascus looms so large in their documents it may well have been to this city that they betook themselves.

Note in passing that Josephus at one point expressly states that Herod the Great, far from persecuting the Essenes, actually held them in honour. He writes:-

"From that time on he continued to honour all the Essenes. I have thought it proper to relate these facts to my readers.....because many of the Essenes because of their superior virtue have been deemed worthy of such knowledge of divine things". (22)

This would seem to point to the fact that probably Fritsch is exaggerating, or is using the texts to suit his own purposes. Herod was no more ill disposed to the Essenes than he was to anyone else, and if Josephus is truthful, then he was well disposed to them. Fritsch's contentions must be taken with great caution. The reason for the migration is more likely to be found in the earthquake, rather than in Herod's hostility.

What conclusions can be drawn from all this material? Nothing more than that Paul and the Essenes of Qumran both had strong associations with Damascus. It may even be wrong to state that the Qumran people went there at all. But that they had some strong link with the name is irrefutable. Perhaps Paul in his three lost years visited Qumran as part of Arabia/Nabatea. Perhaps in Damascus he had come into contact with the kind of "hospitality officer" of the Essenes, mentioned in Josephus.

Certainly there are grounds for stating that Paul was not unaware of Essene theology and beliefs, as they are reflected at some points in his works, and that his knowledge of their way of life was much more than a drawing on what was common knowledge in his own day. There do seem to be echoes of a more personal contact between Paul and the Essenes. If we weigh up the evidence/
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(22) "Antiquities of the Jews" XV, 10: 4-5.

evidence of the New Testament and the Zadokite Fragment, perhaps it is not too exaggerated to claim that Paul met a group of semi-exiled Essenes in Damascus, Essenes who had not returned to Qumran after the death of Herod. From them he may have gained much that was new, ready to put it into the service of the Christian Gospel.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMING-UP AND CONCLUSION

In concluding this thesis on the relationship of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Pauline Epistles, some account must be taken of the respective positions each holds in the world of scholarship. Without a true perspective, it would be very easy to regard each of them as the most important field of scholarship. Such a view would, inevitably, be distorted. It is only by a detached assessment of their relative importance in the field of New Testament or Biblical Studies, that some fair conclusion can be reached not only about their true value, but also about their relationship with each other.

The Dead Sea Scrolls have been regarded in many different ways. They have been hailed as the long awaited key to the "Dark Ages", of Intertestamental times. They have been seen as the ancestor and precursor of Christianity. They have been regarded by the more sensational writers as the "proof" that the Bible is "true". They have been thought of as forgeries, as hoaxes, as mere accumulated junk of the Middle Ages. There is scarcely a viewpoint, however conservative, or however cranky, which has not been expressed about them. It is thus both reasonable and necessary to ask the question, "What is the true position and importance of the Scrolls?".

Initially, when the first discoveries were made in 1947, the first judgements were made on purely textual matters. This, in fact, was as far as most scholars could go, taking into account the twin factors of the small amount of texts discovered and the delay of almost three years between discovery and publication. To the scholars who were asked to pronounce judgement on these scrolls, the first point of interest was that as manuscripts, disregarding any theological or historical contents, they were far older than any Biblical manuscript hitherto known. It may have been that in the rather theatrical excitement of the first discoveries, some scholars allowed their imagination to get the better of their critical faculties. Such a description could be applied/

applied to JOHN MARCO ALLEGRO, who has written what might be termed "popular" books on scrolls' subjects. In his first book "THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS", first published by Penguin Books in 1956, something of this initial enthusiasm is still to be found. Allegro is a fine philologist and archaeologist, but when it comes to assessing in a critical, objective manner all the evidence, he falls down sharply. Undoubtedly the man is sincere in what he believes, but equally undoubtedly he is possessed of a very vivid imagination. He clothes the evidence in what he thinks should be the right answer, instead of laying the facts down in a clear fashion, and allowing them to be their own judgement. Some quotations from his first book mentioned above will illustrate this picture of him.

Clearly his imagination has been inspired by the excitement of the discoveries, in somewhat the same fashion as the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamen in 1923 by Howard Carter inspired contemporary scholars and writers to make wildly inaccurate judgements about a king who was, perhaps, among the most obscure of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt. Allegro writes in almost breathless haste:-

"Furthermore, as more and more material became available, and the first close examinations were made, it became increasingly evident that these scrolls were fantastically important, beyond every scholar's wildest dreams. Already, study of the 1947 scrolls was producing any number of parallels with the New Testament, and these and the material from this and the later caves were clearly going to change every text-book on this period of Judaism and Christian origin that had ever been written". (1)

Sometimes he cools down a bit, revealing a more critical scholarly outlook:-

"Excitement had run high among scholars when it became known in 1948 that a cave near the Dead Sea had produced pre-Masoretic texts of the Bible. Was it possible that we were/ (1) Op.cit., p.36....."

were at last going to see traditions differing seriously from the standard text, which would throw some important light on this hazy period of variant traditions? In some quarters the question was raised with some apprehension, especially when news-hungry journalists began to talk about changing the whole Bible in view of the latest discoveries, but closer examination showed that, on the whole, the differences shown by the first Isaiah scroll were of little account, and could often be explained on the basis of scribal errors, or differing orthography, syntax, or grammatical form". (2)

Here Mr. Allegro shows signs of using his critical faculties to advantage. Strange to say it is Allegro who gives an apt summing-up of the whole purpose of investigation of the Scrolls. He writes:-

"It is true that to widen the field of translation to more than one text is to risk more subjectivity in the answer, but the question is only one of degree. The public, one presumes, is more interested in having a translation which is as near as possible what the prophet spoke or wrote than an accurate rendering of a particular Hebrew manuscript. If Qumran helps us to satisfy that requirement, then I believe we should use all the information it can offer, even though it makes our work vastly more complicated". (3)

It could be wished that Mr. Allegro wrote more often in that vein than in his more sensational fashion.

It is true that one of the *prima facie* values of the Scrolls was a textual one. It brought to light a host of manuscripts of Biblical and non-Biblical texts which have enabled scholars to learn more about the evolution and meaning of the Masoretic texts, which form the basis of most modern translations of the Bible. Some idea of the textual importance is given by Father J.T. Milik, in his "Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea".
Father/

(2) Op.cit., p.56
(3) Op.cit., p.73

Father Milik was one of the international team of scholars who collaborated in the excavation of the caves and the ruined settlement at Qumran, and also spent some time helping to piece together the scroll fragments and decipher them. His work is of a very high standard, as befits one trained at the Ecole Biblique et Archeologique Francaise, and is well imbued with the true scholarly outlook and judgement. He is very much a stabilising influence to the work of Allegro, although he largely agrees with him. Speaking of the textual importance of the scrolls he writes in his meticulous fashion:-

"Eight languages are represented in the texts from the Judean Desert; biblical Hebrew, Mishnaic Hebrew, Palestinian Aramaic, Nabatean, Greek, Latin, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, and Arabic.

The documents from Qumran are mainly written in neo-classical Hebrew, i.e. an imitation at a later date of the language and style of the books of the Bible. As is to be expected in such a case, the result is a language lacking in spontaneity and, in addition, contaminated by the contemporary colloquial dialect. This movement of a return to classical Hebrew fits in well with the general Jewish renaissance which started in Maccabean times".(4)

From such a wealth of manuscript evidence the scholars of future times will be able to assess the value of the Masoretic texts in a more critical and knowledgeable fashion.

To begin with, therefore, the scrolls are important for their wealth of textual evidence as the ancestors of the Masoretic texts.

Other scholars preferred to put more emphasis on the importance of the scrolls in the question of Christian Origins. Most of them are in general agreement that the thought contained in the Scrolls is similar in places to that of Christianity. As is to be expected/

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expected every shade of scholarly opinion is to be found in this problem. A person like R.K. Harrison takes up a middle-of-the-road position in his book "The Dead Sea Scrolls". He tends to think that similarities are pure coincidence and any contribution made by the scrolls to Christianity is small and incidental. He states firmly:-

"What is evident from a study of the scrolls is that the historical relationship between Judaism and nascent Christianity must continue to receive consistent emphasis. At the same time the fundamental theological differences between those under Law and those under Grace have been brought into an even sharper focus. The Qumran documents have provided a fresh stimulus for the study of the characteristic theological doctrines of Christianity against a more assured historical background. Whilst incidental light has been shed upon many New Testament passages, no literary source discovered to the present has altered in any way the unique elements of Christianity, nor have they made necessary any changes in traditional Christian doctrine". (5)

Others, such as the Jesuit Jean Danielou, see Jesus as standing in the direct line of the thought of the scrolls. Danielou's little book, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Primitive Christianity" is admirable as a concise account of the Roman Catholic viewpoint. He writes in these terms:-

"Alongside of these similarities concerning customs, we shall observe that in His discussions with the representatives of the Jewish sects, Pharisees or Sadducees, Christ takes positions that are often akin to those of the Essenes. Thus the Damascus or Zadokite Document proscribes all kinds of oaths (CDC, XV, 1-3). The same proscription is to be found in the Sermon on the Mount; 'But I say to you not to swear at all, neither by heaven, for it is the throne of God.....' (Matthew 5:34). A/

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A similar condemnation occurs of the practice of corban, that is the false consecration of an object to God in order to avoid giving it to someone else (Mark 7:11; CDC, XVI,13). In all this it would appear that Christ shares the Essene criticism of the casuistry of the Pharisees. This always leads us back to the same milieu which is opposed at one and the same time to the Pharisees because of their attachment to tradition and to the Sadducees because of their spiritual intransigence. This milieu, however, certainly includes the community of Qumran, which was one of its spiritual centres". (6)

Such similarities as Daniélou points out may well be no more than verbal similarity of a coincidental nature, or they may indeed reflect a closer interdependence of thought than has ever been accepted in the past. Whatever the truth it cannot be denied that the similarities do exist, and, therefore, any rational exegesis of the New Testament texts cannot now ignore the new material in the texts of the scrolls. They demand an answer.

The Scrolls may not prove that Christianity is a developed form of Essenism, but they do make aware the fact of a hitherto almost unknown background for purposes of exegesis and interpretation.

It is in this field of what might be termed "background" that the majority of scholars find themselves in closest agreement. This field was one which was slow to appear in the initial excitements about texts and archaeology. But now it is beginning to overshadow every other line of study of the Scrolls. F.F. Bruce makes this point:-

"There are many parts of the New Testament which have received fresh illumination from the Qumran discoveries; indeed, it would be difficult to think of any part of it which has received no illumination of some sort from the. Even if for the most part they provide us simply with a new background against which we can study the New Testament and the beginnings of Christianity with greater understanding, that is a great contribution. For/

For when any object is viewed against a new background, the object itself takes on a fresh appearance; and against the background supplied by the Qumran discoveries many things in the New Testament take on a new and vivid significance. This is true not only of the Fourth Gospel and other Johannine writings, but of the Synoptic Gospels and the Acts, of the Pauline and other Epistles, and not least of the Epistle to the Hebrews".(7)

That is perhaps the most sensible description ever written of the position of the Dead Sea Scrolls. It is remarkable just how much work has been done on the Scrolls since their discovery. On the whole scholars have judged them with a minimum of bias and prejudice, and come to some very scholarly conclusions. Edmund Wilson, an American literary critic, is inclined to cast aspersions on the academic integrity of many of the Scrolls' scholars, in his book, "The Scrolls from the Dead Sea". In the course of this collection of newspaper and magazine articles he writes:-

"New Testament scholars, it seems, have almost without exception boycotted the whole subject of the scrolls. The situation in this field is peculiar. It is precisely the more 'liberal' scholars in Britain and the United States who have been most reluctant to deal with the scrolls, for the reason that these liberals tend to assume that the doctrines known as Christian were not really formulated till several generation after Jesus' death, and especially, as I have said, that the Gospel of John came late and was influenced by Gnostic thought. Professor Albright believes that the doctrine of John was already either explicit or implicit before the Crucifixion, that the material relating to Jesus - though it/

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(7) "Second Thoughts on the Dead Sea Scrolls", p.150

it was not written down till later - must go back to before 70 A.D. (by which date, according to the evidence of the coins, the Romans would have driven out the sect), and that it represents authentic memories and correctly reflects Jesus' teaching.

These new documents have thus loomed as a menace to a variety of rooted assumptions, from matters of tradition and dogma, to hypotheses that are exploits of scholarship. How gingerly, in many quarters, the approach to the scrolls long remained has been shown in a striking way by the disturbing but air-cleaning effects of the writings of Dupont-Sommer ". (8)

That is a highly inaccurate statement of the facts. The fact was that far too many people rushed in to judge the scrolls, most of whom were incompetent to do so. When the hue and cry died away, the scrolls were assessed by a number of highly qualified specialists in this particular field of study. To imply that scholars have ignored the scrolls for fear of shattering long cherished views is quite wrong. The majority have expressed a willingness to look at the new material coming from the scrolls and have unhesitatingly applied it to these older problems. Much more is now known about the background of Christianity. The scrolls supply a "missing link" between the close of Old Testament times and the opening of the New Testament period. J.T. Milik describes the situation thus:-

"As for the writings of the Essenes, they have a double importance for the history of the Jewish religion. They have a place both in the line of development which leads to the writings of the New Testament and in that which finishes in Pharisaic Judaism, as the Mishnah and Talmud depict it. Furthermore, as we have seen, they form in themselves an essentially authentic development from the Old Testament. Their theology is centred in eschatology, it is true, but this is already becoming strong in the later books of the Old Testament. " (9)

(8) Op.cit., p.105-106 (9) Op.cit., p.141

Milik still regards Christianity as something essentially new. He writes as his conclusion:-

"Accordingly, although Essenism bore in itself more than one element that has one way or another fertilized the soil from which Christianity was to spring, it is nevertheless evident that the latter religion represents something completely new which can only be adequately explained by the person of Jesus himself". (10)

The particular novelty of background that the scrolls were to bring to light was the more widespread nature of sectarian Judaism, than had been thought previously. F.F. Bruce sums it up very well:-

"For the Qumran discoveries have stimulated renewed study of the extent and nature of 'sectarian' Judaism in the period immediately preceding and immediately following the birth of Christ. By 'sectarian' Judaism is meant a form or forms of Jewish belief and practice deviating from those of the dominant parties, the Pharisees and Sadducees. There is reason to believe that such sectarian Judaism was more widespread than has been generally suspected - not only in Palestine and Transjordan but even further afield. We have already seen that in addition to the Essenes who lived in separate communities in the wilderness there were adherents of the Essene movement who continued to live in the towns and villages of Palestine, and the same situation probably obtained with regard to the Qumran movement.

Now the particular Jewish environment in which Christianity first began probably partook of this 'sectarian' character. In the nativity narrative with which St. Luke's Gospel opens we are introduced to a number of humble and godly Jews - Zechariah and Elizabeth, Joseph and Mary, Simeon and Anna - who were assiduous in their observance of the divine commandments and eagerly awaited 'the consolation of Israel'. Their piety and hope link them rather with 'sectarian' Judaism than with the main stream of national religion. This was the environment/

environment into which both John the Baptist and our Lord were born. To this general environment, too, the Essene and Qumran movements belong; to it also, as regards the period with which we are dealing, we must attach the Samaritan community in many of its features". (11)

This description by Bruce is in no way contrary to a similar view held by Matthew Black in his "The Scrolls and Christian Origins". Black is one of the foremost scholars of the present and well known for the soundness of his views. On this subject he writes:-

"What emerges with ever-increasing clarity from the evidence is the strength of the link between the primitive Church in the New Testament period and its sectarian Jewish background: ascetisism of a sexual type may have found encouragement from Hellenism, but it seems more likely to be an inheritance from Jewish sectarianism.

Undoubtedly, of course, the Christian ideal of voluntary celibacy - and the later institution of Christian monasticism have been inspired by the dominical teaching of Mr. xix, 12. But the Jewish background of this ideal is to be found in sectarian, not Pharisaic, Judaism." (12)

In summing-up the position of the Dead Sea Scrolls it can be said that while the textual and exegetical aspects of their nature are vitally important in their own right, they may have to take an inferior position to that of "background". In the past the origins of the Christian faith were seen to lie in the Old Testament, as if there was an unbroken line between Old and New Testaments. The existence of groups within Judaism were never acknowledged beyond those of the Pharisees and the Sadducees. With the discovery and examination of the scrolls it is seen that sectarian Judaism was wider in its extent and deeper in its nature than the narrowness and shallowness of Pharisaism. It is unlikely that/

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that the origins of Christianity could ever be proved to be in Essensim. But it is almost assured that at the time of the birth of Christ, Judaism was in a spiritual turmoil, especially among the various sects such as the Essenes of Qumran. It is against this background that any further examinations of the origins of Christianity must take place, taking into account the evidence of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Stephen Neill in his review of Biblical studies entitled, "The Interpretation of the New Testament, 1861-1961", sums up the position of the Scrolls, a position which has not changed since the book was published. He writes:-

"We shall not expect to find in the Scrolls direct light on the New Testament, on the ideas of John the Baptist or Jesus, or on the views and practices of the early Church. Nevertheless, these documents are of immense value in helping us to fill the gaps in our knowledge of the Jewish world in the days of Jesus, and in providing illustrative material, the value of which we must now attempt to assess". (13)

The Scrolls are the key to the hitherto hidden treasures of sectarian Judaism, the ancestor and contemporary of the Christian faith.

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(13) Op.cit., p.307

Having come to an assessment of the position, worth and importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls, it is inevitable that something of a similar nature must be attempted in the field of Pauline studies. It will be seen that in this field, as in that of the Scrolls, views of very different types, controversies and arguments are much in evidence.

St. Paul was and is a person who excites controversy. The view of the layman could be described in two ways. Either he looks upon Paul as the great apostle, preacher, theologian and saint of the Church, or he looks on him as the one who changed the direction of the Church away from the message of Jesus to a veneration of the person of Jesus Himself. In other words, it is often claimed that the Church in the present day does not believe and preach the "pure" Gospel as preached by Jesus, but rather propagates a kind of humanistic Paulinism. The problem that is relevant for this present study is "What are the works of Paul, and how important are they?"

The question of "authenticity" of the Pauline Epistles is one which has troubled scholars since almost the time of Paul himself. Many methods and many criteria of authenticity and integrity have been applied to these documents, resulting in equally many different solutions. Now the world of Science has stepped in and the Epistles have been examined by computer by Rev. A.Q. Morton, Culross Abbey. In a small book entitled "Christianity and the Computer", he gives a brief introduction to the aims and techniques of his work. Not unnaturally his results and his methods have excited a good deal of controversy.. Many have dogmatically refused even to look at what he is doing. This is a regrettable thing, since any true scholar must be willing to look at new methods, however much he may disagree with them. Morton brings the problem of the authenticity of the New Testament fairly and squarely into the light. He writes:-

"The great difficulty about the New Testament Epistles, and the fourteen epistles from Romans to Hebrews which have/

have been coupled with the name of Paul in particular, is that they appear in the clear light of history only about 135 A.D. For seventy years they lde hidden from our view. So what we have as traditions about their authorship is what people thought in the middle of the second century. With no really reliable evidence from history or tradition to guideus, the only way to discover who wrote these epistles is to study the epistles themselves. This is what scholars have been doing for centuries". (14)

Morton places little reliability on human skill in analysing the epistles. His method is to detect patterns of sentence length and word frequency in the documents. If a writer habitually uses a certain number of words per sentence; if he uses certain esoteric words and phrases with regular frequency; then certain distinguishable patterns emerge which can be used as a guide to judge the authenticity of other writings. Applying this test to the Pauline Epistles, Morton describes his results:-

"When these tests are applied to the Pauline Epistles, after having been tried on over four hundred samples drawn from a wide range of Greek prose writers, they all give the same result, that four epistles are entirely consistent, Romans, 1st and 2nd Corinthians and Galatians. To these can be added the very short epistle to Philemon, only 335 Greek words, for there is nothing in Philemon which makes it unlikely to be by Paul. In this group there are some slight anomalies, differences which are mathematically significant but not large enough to be always associated with a difference of authorship, one is in the first chapter of Romans and another in chapters one to nine of 2nd Corinthians. 1st and 2nd Thessealonians are indistinguishable, but there are significant differences between Colossians, Philippians and Ephesians. These differences should be treated with reserve, for Ephesians is quite unlike any peice of Greek prose and may be the product of some process of literary composition quite unlike the normal methods.

1st and 2nd Timothy are also indistinguishable. Titus is so short that it is difficult to say much more than that it does not belong to the Galatians group and is nearest to 1st and 2nd Timothy". (15)

While the present writer cannot wholly subscribe to Morton's methods and results, it is yet impossible to ignore such results. There is neither need nor relevance to enter into a long argument over the reliability of Morton's work. Suffice to say that, as Morton himself would be the first to admit, the new techniques involved are still in their infancy, thus warning against coming to any premature conclusion. It may be that in years to come such new techniques may become so advanced and reliable that no scholar will dare ignore them. For the present, however, the older methods of criticism must be the most reliable guides.

There is, at the same time, neither relevance or need to enter into a long discussion to prove the "literary authenticity" of the Epistles. This is not the time or place to become involved in the maze-like tangles of "introduction", such as the North and South Galatian theory, or the vexed question of the integrity of Romans 16. Simply let it be stated that, in accordance with the majority of scholarly opinion, the present writer takes the following epistles to be regarded as authentically Pauline - Romans, 1st and 2nd Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, 1st and 2nd Thessalonians and Philemon. The remainder - Ephesians, 1st and 2nd Timothy, Titus - are regarded as containing Pauline material, but not necessarily written or dictated by Paul himself.

Having come to some conclusion about the Epistles of Paul, it is inevitable that attention turns to the author himself. What sort of person was he? Did he really twist the Christian kerygma into a self-centred theology? Is modern Christianity merely a form of Paulinism? It is not within the scope of this Conclusion to delve back into Paul's past or to reconstruct and classify his thought. These things have already been done in the preceding chapters of this thesis...What can be done, and done relatively (15) Op.cit., p.32

briefly, is to quote from the works of the great Pauline scholars their various verdicts and comments on Paul. No attempt will be made to "classify" Paul under any headings, e.g. theologian, saint, apostle, distorter of the truth, Judaistic, Hellenistic. Paul was a human being, made up of many different parts and influences it is true, but one who demands a verdict "in toto", as a complete man in his own right.

J. Klausner writes of him as a fellow Jew:-

"This Saul was the real founder of Christianity as a new religion and a new church after it had been in existence for some years as a Jewish sect and Israelite congregation alone".
(16)

D.E. Whitely echoes this view thus:-

"When the 'man in the street' hears the Apostle's name mentioned, it often conjures up in his mind certain half-formulated ideas which are very closely related to the problem of background. For example, it is commonly thought that St. Paul was the man who ruined Christianity: Christ, it is said, preached the true Gospel, and the Church perverted it, St. Paul being the chief offender. It is thought, for instance, that St. Paul introduced false ideas derived from 'Greek thought', or from the Mystery Religions, or, on the other hand, that he dragged back the infant church into the morass of Judaism from which our Lord had freed it". (17)

J.S. Stewart puts the same kind of thought in different terms:-

"Yet history, which has been unjust to many of its greatest men, has given us from time to time, by a strange irony of fate, a Paul who is himself the type and the embodiment of the very things against which he strove with might and main. We have had Paul the ecstatic visionary, Paul the speculative theologian, Paul the organiser and ecclesiastic, Paul the humanitarian moralist, Paul the ascetic. Of these portraits which/
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(16) "From Jesus to Paul", p.303-304. (17) "The Theology of St. Paul", p.1.

which have appeared at different times in the course of Pauline study, by far the most unfortunate in its results has been the second Paul the dogmatist, the doctrinaire thinker, the creator of a philosophy of religion, the constructor of a system. This is history's greatest injustice to its greatest saint. It is a blunder which has ruined Paul for thousands". (18)

The view of Paul expressed by Rudolf Bultmann sees him as the founder of Christian theology:-

"The historical position of Paul may be stated as follows:- Standing within the frame of Hellenistic Christianity he raised the theological motifs that were at work in the proclamation of the Hellenistic Church to the clarity of theological thinking; he called to attention the problems latent in the Hellenistic proclamation and brought them to a decision; and thus - so far as our sources permit an opinion on the matter - became the founder of Christian theology". (19)

Bultmann expresses Paul's situation so precisely that it is worth while quoting from further on in the same page. He says:-

"Not having been a personal disciple of Jesus, he was won to the Christian faith by the kerygma of the Hellenistic Church. The question thrust upon him by this kerygma was whether he was willing to regard the crucified Jesus of Nazareth, whom the kerygma asserted to have risen from the dead, as the expected Messiah. But for Paul, the fervent champion (ἡγλατης) of the traditions of the fathers (Gal.1 14), straightway recognizing how basically the Torah was called into question by the Hellenistic mission, that meant whether he was willing to acknowledge in the cross of Christ God's judgement upon his self-understanding at that time - i.e. God's condemnation of his Jewish striving after righteousness by fulfilling the work of the Law. After he had/

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(18) "A Man in Christ", pp.1-p.2

(19) "Theology of the New Testament", Vol.1, p.187

had first indignantly rejected this question and become a persecutor of the Church, at his conversion he submitted to this judgement of God."

Bultmann does, however, recognize the existence of the Jesus and Paul question, but dismisses it rather quickly thus:-

"In relation to the preaching of Jesus, the theology of Paul is a new structure, and that indicates nothing else than that Paul has his place within Hellenistic Christianity. The so often and so passionately debated question, 'Jesus and Paul' is at bottom the question: Jesus and Hellenistic Christianity.

But merely to recognize this historical fact does not in itself, of course, decide anything about the relation in content between Paul's theology and Jesus's message. This question, however, cannot be set forth and answered in advance, but must be developed and answered in the presentation of Paul's theology itself." (20)

Something of a balance to Bultmann is given by Adolf Deissmann. He has in one of his works this wonderful description of the problem of Paul:-

"That is the task of the modern investigation of Paul; to come back from the paper Paul of our Western libraries, from the Germanised, dogmatised, modernised, stilted Paul, to the historic Paul, through the labyrinth of the 'Paulinism' of the New Testament Theology to gain contact once more with the actual Paul of ancient days.

The research in the nineteenth century on Paul is both by its thoroughness and the magnitude of its production one of the most imposing achievements of the scientific study of religion. But taken altogether it has been most strongly influenced by interest in Paul, the theologian, and in the 'theology' of Paul. Alongside the enormous discussion of literary/

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literary questions, especially about the genuineness of the Pauline Epistles and their relationship to the 'Acts of the Apostles', it is chiefly the so-called 'System of Pauline Theology', or 'Paulinism' that three generations have wrestled over.

But with this doctrinaire direction the study of Paul has gone further and further astray. It has placed one factor which is certainly not absent from Paul, but in no way is the historically characteristic, theological reflection, in the foreground, and has only too often undervalued the really characteristic traits of the man, the prophetic power of his religious experience, and the energy of his practical religious life. The doctrinaire study of Paul has left, moreover, a great riddle unsolved: the open question how far the 'Paulinism' of its discovering was the seat of those vital forces which must have had a missionary effect, because they carried away the simple people of the Mediterranean world. I am afraid that the people of Iconium, Thessalonica and Corinth would all of them have shared the fate of Eutychus of Troas, if they had been compelled to listen to the paragraphs of modern 'Paulinism' dealing with 'Christology', 'Hamartiology', and 'Eschatology'.

Paul at his best belongs not to Theology but to Religion. Paul, of course, had been a pupil of theologians and had learnt to employ theological methods; he even employed them as a Christian missionary. But for all that the tent-maker of Tarsus ought not to be classified with Origen, Thomas Aquinas and Schleiermacher: his place is rather with the herdsman of Tekoa, and with Tertsteegen, the ribbon weaver of Mulheim. Paul the theologian looks backward to Rabbinism. Paul the religious genius gazes into the future history of the world." (21)

Something of this essentially "religious", as compared with "theological", side of Paul is described by C.H. Dodd. He states:-

"In Paul the devout passion for conduct which distinguished the Jewish religion is seen liberated, enlightened, made

spiritual/

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(21) "Paul", p.4-6

spiritual and personal, by what Paul found in Christ; and then impressed upon the life and thought of the wide world in terms which belong to that strangely composite state of mind where the mystical East met the Roman West through the humanizing medium of the Hellenic tradition". (22)

A.D. Nock says very much the same thing -

"St. Paul's interests must be in humanity as a whole, not merely in the scattered members of Judaism. To him, when converted, the obvious duty would be to preach to all the world, just as other men of Greek culture has sought to disseminate the saving truths which they had learnt. The missionary ideal was inevitable to him. He had been a Pharisee, and the Pharisees were noted for proselytism. The Judaizing Christians of Jerusalem wished to make converts who should fulfil the obligations of Judaism. How strong the missionary impulse was in them we do not know. With St. Paul a real offensive began. This is a turning point in history 'Paul', says Wilamowitz, 'has unconsciously completed the legacy of Alexander the Great' ". (23)

T.W. Manson, also, sees Paul as essentially a missionary:-

"Above all else, Paul's theology is the theology of a missionary, a theology of conversion. We shall find many other elements in it, elements taken over from the prophets of the Old Testament, elements from his Rabbinical training, elements from his early Hellenistic environment and his later contact with the thought and aspiration of the Graeco-Roman world, elements of apocalyptic, and of primitive Palestinian Christian tradition; but overshadowing them all is the notion of a conversion, a dramatic change in the course of world-history, a change in the nature of men and in their present life and future prospects wrought by God in Christ ". (24)

Speaking/

(22) "The Meaning of Paul for To-day", p.17

(23) "Early Gentile Christianity and its Hellenistic Background",

(24) "On Paul and John", p.12.

Speaking of Paul's own self-understanding, W.A. Beardslee writes:-

"Recent discussion has insisted that Paul's vocation grows from a clear pattern of eschatological expectation: Paul knows himself to be caught up in the crisis of God's purpose; through him and his preaching, the powers of the new age are made available to men, and his specific task is an aspect of what must come to pass in the course of the fulfilment of the divine plan". (25)

Most scholars are agreed that Paul's thought does owe something to both Hellenism and Judaism. C.A. Anderson Scott, however, can find no real Hellenistic contribution in Paul. He says:-

"The influence of Hellenistic thought upon St. Paul's interpretation of Christianity was negligible. So far as the content of his teaching was not due to the fact of Christ its content and also its forms were derived almost exclusively from Judaism". (26)

H.J. Schoeps gives a more balanced picture of this particular problem, though not denying the size of the debt owed by Paul to Judaism. He comments:-

"The net result of these considerations is therefore that the Judaic-Hellenistic approach, indicated by the biography of the apostle, has its inner justification and must be taken into account in any attempt to understand his Christian theology. For it is the same human being who both before and after Damascus pondered the problems of God, the law, the Messiah, and Salvation - an elementary truth which has been forgotten in many quarters. The exponents of this approach need not deny that in the long course of his travels Paul came directly into contact with pagan Hellenism and its many mystery cults. For it was clear that this was the alien/

- (25) "Human Achievement and Divine Vocation in the Message of Paul",
(26) "Christianity According to St. Paul" - Preface. p.83

alien, while Judaized Hellenism was the native and familiar, milieu of the apostle's youth. A type so extraverted as Paul must have been roused to a passionate reaction towards every situation and state of affairs he encountered. How else could he have become a Greek to the Greeks? Eduard Schwartz thinks that he had learned to do this in his youth. To that extent he will have had knowledge of all the spiritual and religious tendencies of the koine - at least in the proportion in which every moderately informed newspaper reader of to-day is au fait with the state of affairs in his continent". (27)

H. St. J. Thackeray, an acknowledged authority on this element of Paul, has this pertinent point to make:-

"Of the many influences which, apart from direct revelation and primitive Christian tradition, contributed to the moulding of St. Paul's language and ideas, we may say that the principal were the Roman Empire, Hellenism, Old Testament theology, and contemporary Judaism. The influence of the Roman Empire on his scheme of missionary labour has recently been brought before us in striking works which have shown the Apostle in the character of a statesman and a Roman citizen. The reflexion of Greek philosophy and Greek customs and ideas in his Epistles has also received illustration. But the last-named influence, that of contemporary Jewish thought, as distinguished from Old Testament theology - for it must be remembered that since the return under Ezra there had been gradually growing up a Jewish theology quite distinct from anything which we find in the Old Testament - this influence, although from the nature of the case it must have been the most important element in St. Paul's education, has until recent years, at any rate in this country, not received the attention which it deserves". (28)

Thus in this brief review of scholarly opinion of St. Paul, various different stages have been noted. Paul as the perverter of Christianity, Paul as the Apostle to the Greeks, Paul as a human/

(27) "Paul", p.36

(28) "The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought", p.2-3

human being, Paul as "religious" as against "theological", Paul as missionary to the whole world, Paul as strongly influenced by his upbringing in Judaism. It would be wrong to choose any one of these categories or descriptions as the one and only correct one for Paul. In a sense they are all correct.

What is perhaps better to say is that all of these different categories and descriptions were necessary to adequately describe Paul. He was a curious mixture of all these elements. Without any single one of them, no matter which it may be, he would not have been the "real" apostle Paul.

Paul, it could be said, was a normal human being, brought up in the Jewish faith, and trained as a Pharisee, who was nevertheless open to all the different influences at work around him. Inevitably he must have unconsciously absorbed some of them into his natural being, and others, such as the Greek language, he consciously studied. He was possessed with the idea that he was the divine messenger who was to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles. His letters were never meant to be regarded as academic treatises on theology. They were written responses to actual situations he had to deal with in the course of his work. Johannes Munck sums up the position quite well when he writes:-

"Throughout his letters the questions that he has treated are problems that have had to be discussed in consequence of his apostolic work as the man called by God to be the apostle to the Gentiles, and they are missionary problems that Paul met with in his work. For the Churches' sake he discusses them and tries to find their practical solutions according to which the Christians can regulate their lives. This is what his theology, if we can call it that, consists of. He is no Albert Schweitzer, continuing his theological work during his missionary activity. No, all Paul's work as a thinker arises from his missionary activity, and its object is missionary work. We can say of Paul's : theology, mutatis mutandis, what has been said of Goethe's/

Goethe's religiosity, that it is primarily an accompaniment of his activity. His theology arises from his work as apostle and directly serves that work". (29)

This is a valid description of Paul and his work. If, as Deissman said (30), the real, human Paul can be re-discovered underneath the artificial superstructure of "Paulinism" constructed by generations of scholars and critics over a long period of time, then the real substance of his message, the faith he proclaimed, will be set free for the edification and the salvation of all men.

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(29) "Paul and the Salvation of Mankind", p.67

(30) Op.cit., p.4.

Having reviewed the current positions of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and Pauline studies, and come to some definite assessment of each, it only remains to come to some conclusion about the relationship between the two. Perhaps this will be done best and clearest by recalling the conclusions of each of the foregoing chapters of this thesis.

Introductory Chapter

In this short introduction the question of the discovery of the Scrolls was dealt with, as well as related problems of time, place and methods. The conclusion was reached that some time about 1947 a semi-Bedouin goatherd or shepherd accidentally found a cave near the Dead Sea. This cave contained a number of pottery jars, found to be the depositories of a considerable number of ancient scrolls. After much intrigue, the discoveries reached scholarly hands who pronounced them to be the oldest Biblical manuscripts hitherto known. Proper excavation of the first cave, and other caves discovered throughout the 1950s and 1960s, yielded an abundant harvest of manuscripts, all dating roughly 100 B.C. - 100 A.D. They were of three types - Biblical, Apocryphal/Pseudepigraphical and Sectarian. They were thought to be somehow connected with the nearby ruined settlement, Khirbet Qumran.

Chapter One

Here a more detailed discussion was given as to the nature and composition of the Scrolls. The sectarian nature of some of the scrolls was more fully examined. The question of why the scrolls were in the caves, and who put them there in the first place was given consideration. It was concluded that they were part of a library of some religious group, and had been placed in the caves for safety. Reference was made to the history of the Jews in this period, and after realising the close association of the scrolls with the ruins of Qumran, it was deduced that the scrolls were, at least part of, the library of the settlement of Qumran, and had been put in the caves sometime around 68 A.D.

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When the Romans were carrying out military operations in the immediate vicinity. The question still remained - Who were these people at Qumran? Many scholars had identified them with the ancient sect of the Essenes. Taking into account the description of the Essenes and their way of life given by such ancient writers and historians as Flavius Josephus, Philo of Alexandria and Pliny the Elder, and comparing their information with the life and thought of the people reflected in the sectarian scrolls, it was agreed that it was more than likely that the owners of the scrolls were the Essenes, and that Qumran had been an Essene monastery.

Chapter Two

In this lengthy chapter a close examination was made of various key theological concepts in both the Scrolls and Paul. The subjects of Predestination and Justification were held to be the most important. Passages in the Scrolls and Paul were detailed where some similarity of idea was thought to be apparent. Reference was made to the Old Testament, and Judaistic background.

As far as Predestination is concerned, there is a close similarity in the Scrolls and Paul in the concept of "Chosen-ness", in an eschatological context. Both sides see themselves as special to God for His divine purpose, and both ascribe the initiative in this process to God. It is God who has chosen them; not they who have chosen God. This is seen to be a peculiar view of History, as part of God's redemptive scheme, in which both parties see themselves as playing a major-part. There are differences, too, the chief one being the person of Christ. For Paul predestination is always seen in terms of the grace of God as mediated by Christ. There is no such comparable figure in the Scrolls.

The conclusion was that there is a strong similarity of thought on this subject betraying a sharing of a common background in the Old Testament and Judaistic literature. The Essenes took a narrow view of this thought, while Paul saw it in much wider terms.

As/

As regards the subject of Justification, the similarity of thought is evident also.

The Essenes sometimes seem to be moving away from a rigid legalistic theology to a theology of the grace of God. This is basically Paul's thought on the matter, that the Law, the Torah, could not lead to Salvation. Man is justified, i.e. put into a right relationship with God, where sins are forgiven, not because he deserves it but because it is the essential nature of God to justify.

Several passages in the Scrolls are literally very akin to Paul, e.g. the use of Abraham as an archetypal figure in the Damascus Document, and the passage in the Commentary on Habakkuk which is almost word for word with Romans 3, verses 22 and 26.

Both sides reveal an emphasis on Faith as the key to Justification.

Again it is the person of Christ who causes the difference between Paul and the Scrolls. Paul surpassed the Scrolls! thinking by linking Justification with the person of the Risen Christ. The Scrolls have nothing to compare with that.

There is a tentative conclusion that perhaps in this subject there are some grounds for linking Paul and the Scrolls in a more personal manner than for Predestination. The similarity not only of ideas and thought forms, but also, in certain cases, in words and phrases may point to Paul having had actual contact with these sectarian documents.

Chapter Three

The Eschatology of the Scrolls and Paul is dealt with in this chapter.

Three main concepts are examined:- the Doctrine of Resurrection, /

Resurrection, the Person of the Messiah and the idea of the Final Battle.

As before, various passages of similarity and difference are looked at. In the Scrolls there is not much evidence in the texts to suggest a strong doctrine of Resurrection. Paul, on the other hand builds his whole system of belief on the Resurrection of Christ. Various influences on Paul are examined:- Old Testament, Pharisaic Judaism, Wisdom Literature and Hellenism. It is illuminating that the sect of the Essenes did not share in their fellow-sectarian Pharisaic beliefs in immortality and resurrection. Although the Essenes were part of the same theological world as the Pharisees, they diverged very sharply at this point from them.

In this sphere of thought, as in others, it is the person of Christ who makes all the difference between the Scrolls and Paul. Paul had the Risen Christ to identify himself with. The Essenes had their Teacher of Righteousness, who died a martyr's death. But there was no thought of identifying themselves with him. Paul shared the Pharisaic background with them, but went beyond it by equating Resurrection with the person of the Risen Christ.

The subject of the Doctrine of the Messiah is mainly concerned with the number of such Messiahs. Some scholars see two Messiahs mentioned, others only one. The various texts and scholarly comments on the problem are detailed minutely. With so much confusing material it is hard to make a definite conclusion, but it is stated that there emerges a picture of one Messiah embodying two functions, described as "priestly" and "lay".

No specific texts of Paul are examined, but his Christological doctrine is given full prominence. It is held that in this sphere Paul is drawing heavily on his Jewish background. Paul regarded the Messiah as having come in the person of the Risen Christ. But/

But still he clings on to his native Jewish expectation of the Coming of the End of All Things, when Christ shall return. He reinterprets his more traditional Jewish beliefs in terms of his new-found Christian faith. Space is devoted to pointing out Paul's use of Rabbinic material, which is also found in use in the Scrolls. Paul's Eschatology is really his belief in the Risen Christ.

There is a likeness between Paul and the Scrolls in that both see the Messiah as exalted, spiritual figures. The Essenes look to the Messiah as presiding at the Messianic Banquet in the Age to Come, which is not unlike Paul's thoughts on the Parousia. But Paul is different since he cannot envisage the Messiah as a political figure as he appears in the Scrolls. Also in the Scrolls there is no conception of the Messiah dying as a means of redemption for the sins of Mankind.

Again Paul and the Scrolls share a common background. The Scrolls' Messiah emerged out of the apocalyptic thought and political aspirations of sectarian Judaism, while for Paul the Messiah was the natural corollary of a living faith in a crucified and risen Saviour and Lord. For the Essenes the Messiah was just another part of their eschatological expectation. For Paul it was the foundation of his faith.

Thus there is no real contact here between the two.

The subject of the Final Battle has only a superficial connection.

However both the Scrolls and the Pauline Epistles are very much eschatological documents. Both are products of a common background. Both share the same heritage of Old Testament, Apocryphal and Intertestamental literature dealing with the coming of the Messiah and the Dawning of the New Age. It is in detail that they differ, especially the figure of the Risen Christ. Mention/

Mention is made that as a member of the Pharisaic sect Paul must have known the sectarian eschatological views of the time and could not but help reflecting them some way. This may well be true. It remains that here there is no evidence of direct contact, but of indirect contact, in that both sides were using common ideas.

Chapter Four

In this shorter chapter some aspects of Sacramentalism are discussed, particularly the Common Meal and Baptism.

The Common Meal is the subject of the first part of the chapter. The description of Essene meals as given by the Jewish historian Flavious Josephus is compared with descriptions of meals in the texts themselves. It is seen that while all Essene meals were in one sense special and holy, there was one meal which was something of a sacrament and was held in importance just as the Lord's Supper was held by Christians. Admission to this sacramental meal was the last step in the novitiate for membership of the sect. A description then follows of various types of sacramental meal in other contemporary Judaistic sects and similarities and differences noted.

The history of the evolution of the Lord's Supper is then looked at briefly. There is no doubt possible as to the sacramental aspect of the common meal in the writings of Paul.

The conclusion is that the common meals as found in the Scrolls, Judaism and Paul are different branches of the same parent stem. There is a close similarity between Paul and the Scrolls in the idea of the meal as a means of expressing the return of the Messiah. In other words, both have a profound eschatological outlook. Other points of contact are:- daily celebration of the common meal and community of goods. Judaism is the common link between the two.

The second half of the chapter is devoted to an examination of the subject of Baptism in the Scrolls and Paul. A number of texts in the scrolls relating to washings, cleansings and lustrations are listed and commented upon. Some were concerned with symbolic cleasing from sin or were concerned with the sect's process of howitiate. Others tend to be of a more ritual nature, almost sacramental in character. A long discussion is then entered into as to whether any of these lustrations could be thought of as "Baptism", in the Christian sense. Many different views of scholars are examined, and the actual composition and layout of the ruins of the monastery at Qumran are taken into consideration, especially the number of cisterns found. The conclusion is that some form of baptism was practised at Qumran, a baptism of repentance leading to full membership of the New Covenant of the sect which regarded itself as the type of the New Israel. Again it is an eschatological similarity with Christianity as expressed by Paul.

New Testament references are then listed to illustrate Paul's thinking on Baptism. Much of his thought is seen to come from Pharisaic Judaism. Baptism is sacramental as it mediates God's grace to the believer. In this sense it is an initiation rite into the New Covenant of the Christian community, just like the initiation process of the Essenes. It is eschatological to Paul, also, in that it is a foretaste of the blesseesness of the Messianic Age to Come.

There is a lot of similarity between Paul and the Scrolls in Baptism. Such differences as there are are not of sufficient importance to detract from the essential similarity as initiation rite, and as an eschatological-sacramental participation in the New Covenant.

In terms of the Sacraments there is a very close affinity of thought and idea between the Scroll's and the Pauline Epistles, and, once again, the common link is their background in Judaism/

Judaism.

Chapter Five

The Ethics of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pauline Epistles are dealt with in this chapter. There is a short Appendix to this chapter dealing with certain lists of virtues and vices in both sets of documents.

The "ethical" sections of the Manual of Discipline and the Zadokite Document, insofar, as "ethics" can be compartmented from "theology" are noted and commented on extensively. There emerges an ethic of strict purity, adherence to the Law, and concern for others - the old, the sick, the poor. Unlike orthodox Judaism it laid down repentance as a vital pre-condition for Salvation. It is in this respect that a point of contact is established with Paul.

The ethical thought of Paul is then examined throughout his letters in detail. It is almost impossible to separate his theology from his ethics. For Paul, Ethics are the natural outcome of Salvation. By Salvation a man becomes a completely new creature and so turns to a new life of ethical righteousness. However Paul's eschatological views inevitably coloured his ethical teaching. Because he looked for the imminent return of Christ, his ethics were "interim-ethics" and were never set out in any regular system of thought. They arose as the needs of different situations demanded. Some attention is paid to Paul's view of the Law as being incapable of saving a man, yet vitally necessary in making him aware of his sinful condition. In this respect Paul diverged from the main line of Church thinking. Paul's ethical terminology is given full attention. He sees Evil and Goodness as bearing certain kinds of "fruit", which he classifies under many names.

Resemblances between Pauline ethics and Essene ethics are only/

only superficial. Essene ethics were very much a matter of "case-law", while those of Paul were based on freedom from Law. At best there was only Compassion in the Scrolls while in Paul there was the overwhelming power of Love. Paul's ethics and his theology can hardly be differentiated, while those of the Scrolls are not nearly so co-extensive. Paul drew a great deal of his ethics from traditional Rabbinical teaching, which he modified in the light of his Christian experience and belief. Paul in this aspect may have had some contact with Essenic thought, as part of his general Judaistic background, but beyond this it is impossible to go. To conclude the comparison briefly, it could be said that Paul's ethics were positively based on Love, while those of the Scrolls were negatively based on Law.

The short Appendix postulates more similarity of thought between Paul and the Scrolls. The present writer was struck by the apparent similarity between the lists of "fruits of the spirit" and "fruits of the flesh" which are found in several places in the Pauline Epistles and similar lists in the Manual of Discipline. A closer investigation revealed an astonishing similarity between the two parties. This short appendix sets out the evidence from both sets of documents.

The text of the relevant section of the Manual of Discipline is set out and commented upon extensively. Something of the Dualism between Light and Darkness, Truth and Falsehood, Flesh and Spirit is seen to be present in the Manual.

The relevant sections of the Pauline works are then examined in a similar detailed fashion. Taking the list in Galatians 5 as a basic list, it is postulated that all other occurrences of such lists in Paul are merely repetitions of this list modified to meet the particular circumstances for which it was intended. In other words the lists begin to assume a stereotyped form. Two Tables at the end of the Appendix tabulate the various lists of vices and virtues in the two sets of documents.

While acknowledging a very close verbal similarity, and even a similarity in arrangement of words and phrases, there is no real evidence of a direct link between Paul and the Scrolls. The common Jewish background seems to be the only direct link. Whatever the link, direct or indirect, it is impossible to deny the close similarities, which must be, at least, examined.

Chapter Six.

This is a very short chapter dealing with the present writer's belief that there is a reasonable amount of evidence for postulating the city or region of Damascus as a likely place for direct contact between Paul and the Essenes.

The reference to Damascus in the Acts of the Apostles are compared with those in the Pauline Epistles. This gives rise to the problem of where he spent his three silent years after leaving Damascus. The term "Arabia" is examined very closely and found to be a general term for the region of Damascus. This term itself, in Paul's own day, covered a region which extended to the part of the Dead Sea near Qumran.

References to Damascus in the Scrolls are listed and closely examined. Evidence from ancient writers, such as Philo and Josephus, is taken into account. They provide the information that the sect had representatives in every big centre to take care of travelling members of the sect. Damascus was a very big centre and would certainly have one or more representatives living there permanently. The history of the "land of Damascus" is given full attention, and the conclusion arrived at that at some point in their history some members of the sect migrated to Damascus for a long period of time. Also the term "land of Damascus" became a symbolic reference to Qumran. Evidence for all these conclusions is given.

Taking into account all the available evidence, and leaving aside/

aside all conjecture and imagination, it can be said that there was more than a good chance that Paul met some kind of Essenes at Damascus, or that during his three years in Arabia he spent some time at Qumran in contemplation and meditation of the Gospel which he found himself now called to preach.

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Conclusion

The final conclusion which must be arrived at is that there is no real evidence to suggest a direct link between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pauline Epistles. The various chapters have brought to light many similarities of thought, and in some cases even word, which must neither be too lightly dismissed as irrelevant, nor given too much importance. It would be very easy to strain the evidence beyond the truth. There is always an element of conjecture in any piece of research. But in the last resort there are only the facts to fall back on. Beyond what is told by the concrete facts it is impossible to go.

The Dead Sea Scrolls are undoubtedly one of the major archaeological finds of this or any age. They have opened up a new world which hitherto had only existed in a very hazy fashion. The world of Judaism before the time of Christ, and just at the close of the Old Testament period around the time of the prophetic period, was a kind of Dark Age. Nothing much was known about it. And especially there was ignorance as to the state of sectarian Judaism in this period. The existence of the Pharisees and Sadducees was known and their histories reasonably clear. But of the existence of a third major sect, the Essenes, only the name was known. The finding of the Scrolls, together with the associated archaeological work at Khirbet Qumran and other sites in the region of the Dead Sea has enabled a very clear, detailed picture of the life and thought of the Essenes to be drawn. It is now seen how much wider in scope of thought sectarian Judaism was before the birth of Christ. Any claims that Essenism was the direct ancestor of Christianity have been largely discredited. But it is not too much to say that Essenism had its own contribution to make to the Christian faith. Undoubtedly John the Baptist was strongly influenced by the thought of the Essenes. The Johannine/

Johannine writings, also, show influences from the Essenes. It is clear that the first Christian writers and thinkers had not completely cut themselves off from their traditional Jewish background. There was an atmosphere of ideas around them, shared by all the different branches of Judaism, an atmosphere which it was impossible to ignore. Almost inevitably certain parts of this atmosphere, which were of relevance to the new Christian teachings, were adopted and incorporated. The Dead Sea Scrolls have made this more evident by illuminating many references which hitherto could not be traced to any definite source in Judaism.

The work on the Pauline Epistles has made great strides in recent years. Whatever scholars may or may not think about critical approaches to Paul via the computer, at least it has given them a fresh incentive to re-examine many of the so-called "traditional" ideas and theories about Paul. Paul is now seen in a better perspective than before. Gone is the super-colossal figure of the past. Now he is seen as a prominent evangelist of the Early Church whose rather haphazard writings have accidentally been preserved. This is not to detract one bit from his importance. Obviously, if a collection of any man's letters is still being read, and regarded as authoritative, almost two thousand years after his death, then there must be something different and compelling about him. But too often the Epistles which bear his name have been regarded as almost more important than the words of Jesus Himself. Now he is seen in his proper place. A very compelling, dogmatic travelling evangelist, who had the gift of setting out solutions to problems of Christian life and doctrine in a very concise, though often turgid and confusing, fashion. It must always be remembered that Paul never thought of himself as important, or as called to write the remaining third of the Bible. His letters were basically ad hoc creations, written in haste, and often in temper and exasperation, to meet some crisis in one of the congregations, for which he felt himself responsible. They were not consciously written as regular, systematic treatises on abstract points of Christian theology.

Clearly/

Clearly Pauline studies are taking a much wider view of Paul than in previous times, in the same way as Judaistic studies have been widened by the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The influences which moulded Paul's thought are not now restricted to the Christian tradition given to him after his conversion, and his upbringing in the Old Testament. He is seen to be a man who lived in the varied atmosphere of orthodox and sectarian Judaism. He was a man who must have been alive to all the changing currents of thought which made up that atmosphere. As already pointed out, Essenism was one of these currents of thought. A person of the intellectual calibre of Paul could hardly have been unaware of what the Essenic beliefs and practices were, and may even have been acquainted with their own esoteric literature. It is too much to say that he had direct contact with the Essenes at Qumran. It is also too much to say that he had no contact with the Essenes at Qumran. The purpose of this thesis is that he very likely had some indirect contact with them.

Paul was a man of many parts. He was a staunch, even fiery Christian. But at the same time he was intensely proud of his upbringing in Judaism, and would not easily or quickly cast it aside. It would be inevitable that in his teaching and preaching talking and writing, he would still use the thought forms and modes of expression of the Judaism in which he had been nurtured. He used these forms, and put them to work for the sake of the Church and the Risen Christ who had called him to be His own.

There is an indirect contact between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pauline Epistles. That link is Judaism.

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